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THE
CITY OF NEW YORK

IN THE YEAR OF

WASHINGTON'S INAUGURATION

1789

BY

THOMAS E. V. SMITH

"I pray you, let us satisfy our eyes
With the memorials and the things of fame
That do renown this city."

Twelfth Night

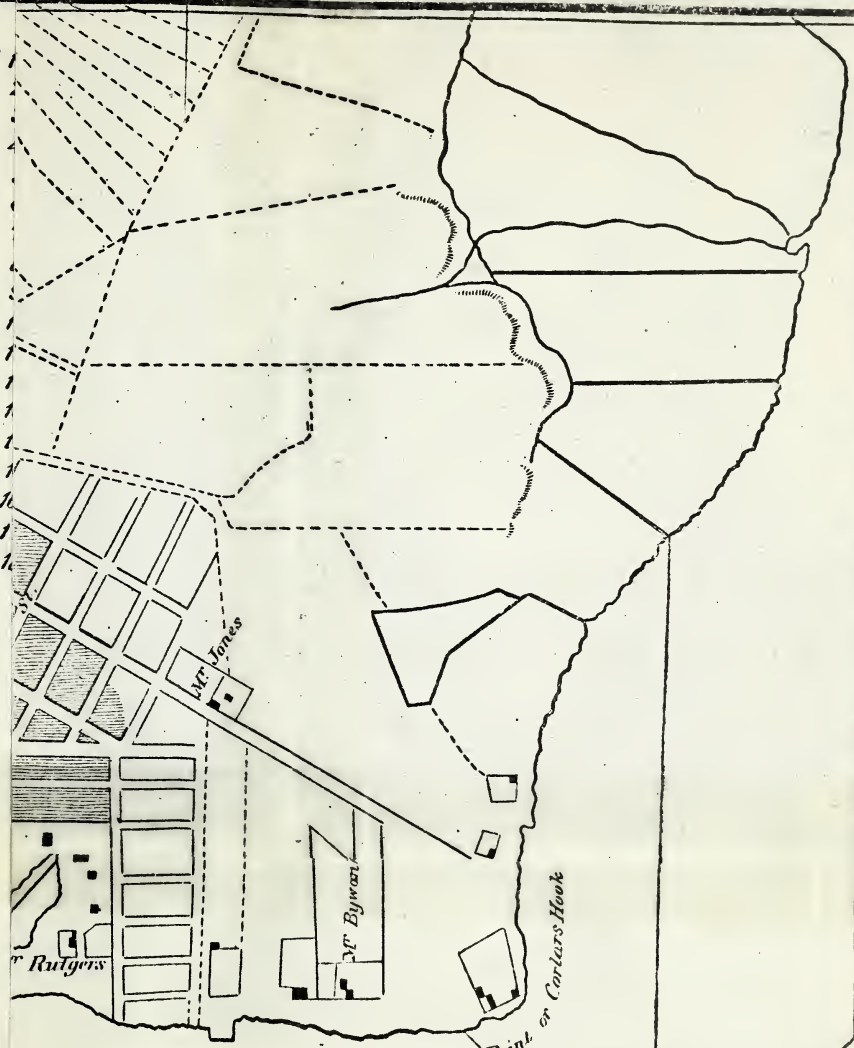
NEW YORK
ANSON D. F. RANDOLPH & CO.

33 WEST TWENTY-THIRD STREET

1889

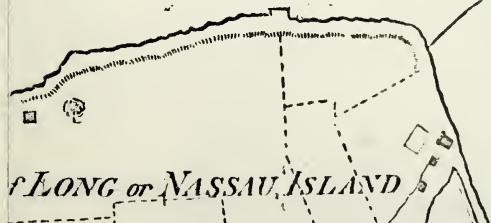
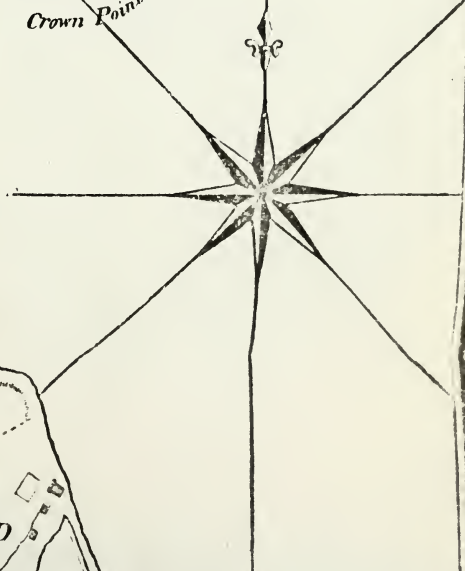
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Crown Point or Carlers Hook

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LONG or NASSAU ISLAND

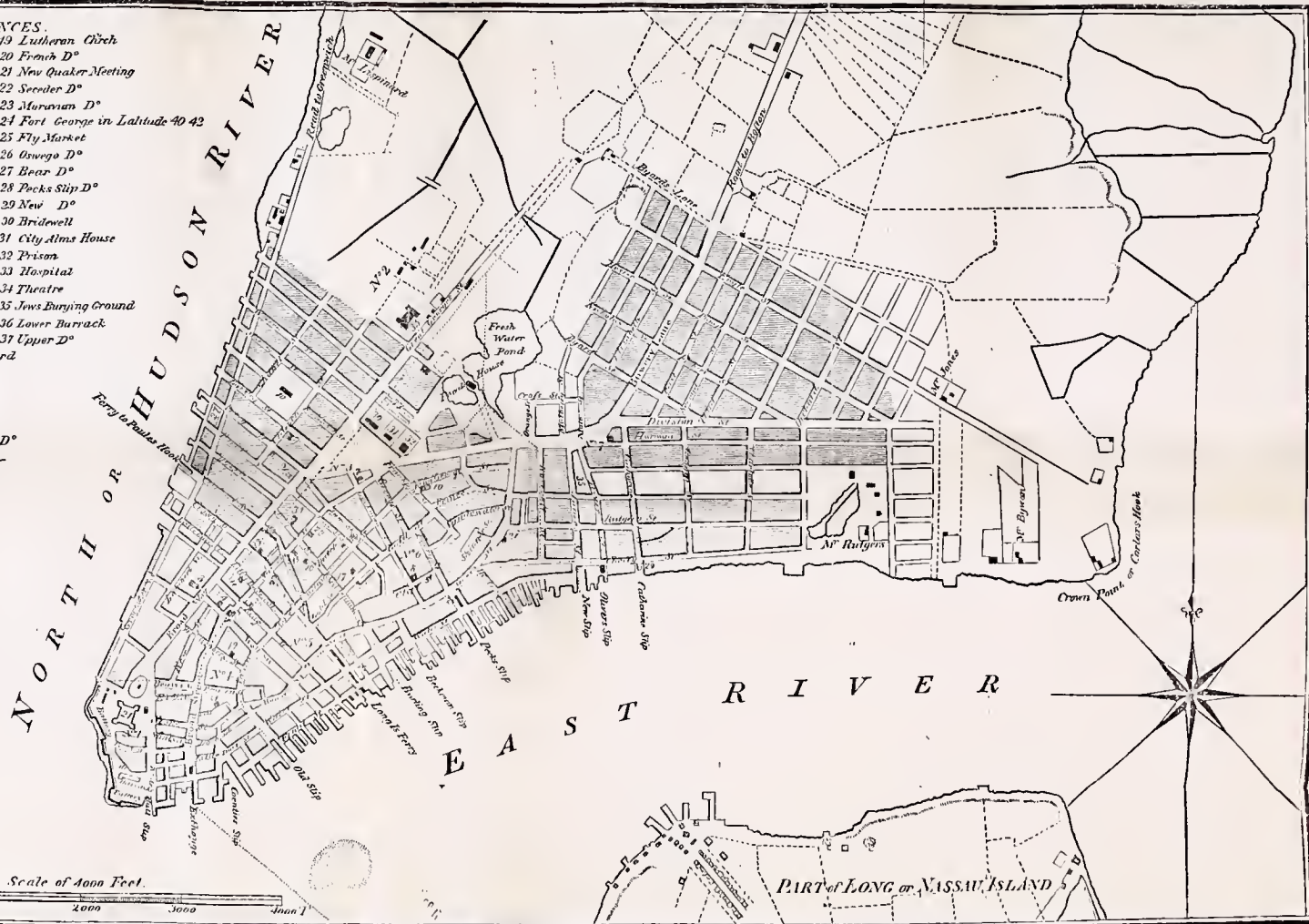


PLAN of the CITY of NEW YORK.

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I.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY.

On the first day of January 1789 New York City had not yet fully recovered from the effects of the great fires of September 21st 1776 and of August 3rd 1778 nor from its occupation by the British during seven years which ended on the 25th of November 1783. Three of the city landmarks had not yet been fully restored. Trinity Church was not completely rebuilt; the Lutheran Church which had stood on the southern corner of Rector Street and Broadway was a mass of ruins known as the Burnt Lutheran Church; and the Middle Dutch Church was still in the hands of its rebuilders. Improvements, however, had been actively begun, and the poverty caused by the Revolution was now considerably amended. In 1785 John Thurman, a city merchant, wrote: "Many of our new merchants and shopkeepers set up since the war have failed. We have nothing but complaints of bad times. In Philadelphia it is worse. Yet labour is very high and all articles of produce very high. Very small are our exports. There is no ship building, but house building in abundance, and house rent remains high. Law in abundance, the Trespass Act is food for the lawyers—yet we say there is no money. Feasting and every kind of extravagance go on—reconcile these things if you can. Gloomy joys." In a paper published by the American Philosophical Society in 1843 Samuel Breck also writes as follows: "In the month of June of the year 1787, on my return from a residence of a few years in France, I arrived at that city, and found it a neglected place, built chiefly of wood, and in a state of prostration and decay. A dozen vessels in port; Broadway from Trinity Church inclusive down to the Battery, in ruins, owing

to a fire that had occurred when the city was occupied by the enemy, during the latter part of the war. The ruined walls of the houses standing on both sides of the way, testifying to the poverty of the place, five years after the conflagration; for although the war had ceased during that period, and the enemy had departed, no attempt had been made to rebuild them. In short, there was silence and inactivity everywhere; and the whole population was very little over 20,000." Mr. Breck's chronology with regard to the fire was several years out of the way, but the matters which fell under his own observation were, without doubt, stated with substantial accuracy.

The year 1788 saw a change in the desolation which had followed the war, and in 1789 New York, the Capital of the United States, was larger in size and more prosperous in business than ever before. It was somewhat irregular in shape, its main portion being on the east side of the island. The houses were not built closely together, but were scattering and surrounded by gardens. From the west side of Broadway to the west side of Greenwich Street, which was then the street nearest to the North River, the ground was more or less closely built upon from the Bowling Green to the south side of what is now Reade Street. Beyond Reade Street the only buildings were the Hospital and a few scattered houses, one of which, on the west side of Broadway a short distance below the line of the present Leonard Street, was a Congregational meeting-house. On the east side of the island the city extended somewhat farther north, its limit being the south side of Bayard's Lane, which in 1807 received its present name of Broome Street. The south side of this street was built upon from Mulberry Street on the west to the present Suffolk Street on the east, and a line drawn from the southwest corner of Broome and Suffolk Streets to the northwest corner of Cherry and Pike Streets would approximately mark the northeasterly limit of the city in 1789. North of the present line of Reade Street no streets were laid out between the North River and Mulberry Street, with the exception of Greenwich Street and Broadway, and

upon them there were but few houses. Along the East River, Front Street was the street nearest to the water from Whitehall Street to its end at Burling Slip, whence Water Street extended along the river as far as the foot of James Street. Beyond that point Cherry Street was nearest to the river and there were but few buildings on its water side. It extended to about the present Pike Street, beyond which was a large swamp, and the country residence of Mr. Rutgers.

In 1786 the population of the city was estimated to be 23,614, and the number of houses 3,340. According to the census of 1790 the population of the city and county was 8,500 white males, over sixteen years of age; 5,907 males under sixteen; 15,254 white females; 1101 other free persons; 2,369 slaves; total, 33,131 inhabitants. This, however, included Harlem, which, properly speaking, was not a part of the city. Another calculation, printed in the newspapers, made the number of inhabitants 30,022, classified as Freeholders of £100, 1209; Freeholders of £20, 1221; Tenants of 40s., 2661; Freeman, 93; Males, 13330; Females, 14,429; Slaves, 2263. This calculation practically omitted the inhabitants of Harlem and probably was a tolerably accurate enumeration of the inhabitants of the city itself in 1790. In 1789 the number of inhabitants of the city proper might be placed at 29,000 and the number of the houses at 4,200, the city directory, published on the 4th of July 1789 by Hodge, Allen and Campbell, containing the names of about 4100 householders. Among the buildings were a number of the old Dutch houses with lofty peaked roofs and their gable ends to the street, but the prevailing style of architecture was English. Noah Webster, in an article which appeared in the *American Magazine* in March 1788, writes that the houses were for the most part built of brick with tiled roofs, but the advertisement of the Mutual Assurance Co. in 1789 states that they were chiefly framed buildings with brick fronts, which was probably the case, although in 1761 the legislature had enacted that none other than stone or brick houses should be erected south of about the present Duane St. after the 1st of January 1766. The time was afterwards extended to January 1st 1774,

but on the 2nd of May in that year nearly 3000 citizens petitioned for the repeal of the act, and, although their petition was not granted, the act was probably not strictly enforced. The streets were many of them narrow and crooked, Water and Queen (Pearl) being in some places too cramped to allow the building of sidewalks. On the 21st of March 1787, however, the Legislature had authorized the Common Council to lay out new streets and to improve those already existing, and in 1788 improvements were begun. The act provided that streets already laid out should not be made wider than four rods nor narrower than two rods, and that the Kingsbridge Road should not be made narrower than it was at that time, nor in any part less than four rods wide. In all cases of persons meeting on the highway, those going out of the city northward were to make road for those coming in southward under a penalty of forty shillings fine for each failure to do so. In August 1784 the Common Council had also expressed its determination to strictly enforce the city ordinances with regard to the care of the streets, but in May 1788 the Grand Jury reported them to be dirty and many of them impassable, and an ordinance published in April 1789 added several new requirements in this regard. The footpath on each side of the street was to be one-fifth the width of the street, paved with brick or flat stone, and curbed; the other three-fifths were to be a cartway, properly arched, and to be paved and kept in repair by the householders under a penalty of forty shillings fine. Driving, sawing wood, and leaving coal on the sidewalk, or otherwise obstructing it, were strictly forbidden; no posts were to be erected except at the intersection of streets, and a penalty of £5 was attached to the offence of planting trees south of the Fresh Water and of Catherine St. except in front of churches and other public buildings. Another important provision of this ordinance was that on every Friday between the first day of March and the first day of December each householder should cause the dirt from his yard, cellar, and the street in front of his premises to be gathered near the gutter before ten o'clock in the morning, and have it removed before twelve o'clock the next day under a penalty of five

shillings fine. The enforcement of this ordinance was entrusted to James Culbertson, the high constable, and that worthy published a card in the newspapers stating that he should perform his duty without respect of persons. But his efforts do not seem to have been altogether successful, for, in the *Daily Advertiser* of December 19th 1789, there appeared a call to the high constable, the echoes of which are still to be heard: "AWAKE THOU SLEEPER, let us have clean streets in this our peaceful seat of the happiest empire in the universe. That so our national rulers and their supporters may with convenience and decency celebrate a merry Christmas and a happy New Year." The sanatory arrangements of the houses had evoked the highest praise from Brissot de Warville, a young Frenchman who had visited the city in 1788, but the sewerage system of the city was extremely primitive. It consisted of the negro slaves, a long line of whom might be seen late at night wending their way to the river, each with a tub on his head. Street lamps had been introduced in 1762 but the lighting of them was regulated by the moon, and there were frequent complaints of the darkness of the streets at night. On the 3rd of December 1788 a standing committee of the Common Council was appointed to attend to the erection of new street lamps and to put them on the houses instead of on posts, wherever it was possible to do so, but the committee does not seem to have been able to keep the lamps lighted, as, on the 31st of the same month, the firemen presented a complaint that their work at a recent fire at one o'clock at night had been greatly impeded by the fact that most of the lamps had gone out. The matter was referred to the committee, but again in 1789 an unfortunate citizen informed the public that in coming home one stormy night in June he had run into a pump in Nassau Street not a hundred perches from the Mayor's house and had received a severe contusion on his head, there being not a lighted lamp nor a watchman in sight. During the year 1789 Abraham Van Gelder received about £33 a month for the lighting and cleaning of the lamps, the pound being worth about two and one half dollars of the present money. Mr. Van Gelder died in Jan-

uary 1815 aged 81 years. The most elevated street in the city was Broadway, which had received that name about the year 1674, extending from the Bowling Green to St. Paul's Chapel, above which it was called Great George Street. Its original course above St. Paul's Chapel had been along the present Park Row and Chatham Street to the Bowery, and in 1789 the portion of it called Great George Street extended only to the present Broome Street and was very sparsely built upon. One of the most northerly buildings upon it was the house of David M. Clarkson which stood on the east side of the street about the middle of the present block between Leonard and Franklin Streets. It was a two-story house about thirty feet wide surrounded by a large garden, the property having a frontage of about 160 feet on Great George Street and a depth of about 380 feet. On the west side of the street a short distance below the present Leonard Street was a building which in November 1789 was first occupied as a Congregational church, and below this, on a plot of ground 440 feet by 455 feet, afterwards bounded by Broadway, Anthony, Church, and Duane Streets, stood the Hospital. The erection of this building had been begun on the 27th of July 1773, the basement walls being of brown stone and the upper portion of blue stone, but it had no sooner been completed than the interior was destroyed by fire on the 28th of February 1775 at a loss of £7000, and although immediately rebuilt, it had never served its original purpose. The Provincial Congress ordered it to be used as a barracks in April 1776 and the British afterwards used it for the same purpose. The Governors of the Hospital, twenty-six in number, held a charter granted June 13th 1771, but during the Revolution they had merely held elections of officers, and lack of funds prevented the opening of the building as a hospital until the 3rd of January 1791 when eighteen patients were admitted, the Legislature, on the 1st of March 1788, having granted to the Governors £800 annually for four years out of the excise revenue of the city. In 1788 a part of the building was used as a dissecting room and on the 13th of April in that year it had been stormed and dismantled by the mob in the "Doctors' Riot;"

but in 1789 it was apparently entirely unoccupied and in June was offered as a temporary place of meeting for the Legislature or the Courts. The officers of the Board of Governors of the Hospital in 1789 were Richard Morris, president, Isaac Roosevelt, vice-president, Henry Haydock, treasurer, and John Keese, secretary. The old building ceased to be used for hospital purposes in February 1870.

Below the Hospital, on the northeast corner of the present Duane Street and Broadway stood an old brewery, and farther south on the east side of Great George Street opposite what was then the end of Reade Street was the old Negroes' Burying-Ground, occupying about 400 feet on Great George Street with a depth of about 600 feet. The next place of importance was that known before the Revolution as Montagnie's Garden, No. 317 Great George Street, situated on the west side of that street near the north corner of Murray Street. In the stirring times before the Revolution it had been the headquarters of the Liberty Boys and the scene of conflict between them and the British soldiery, and after Mr. Montagnie's death had been kept by his widow. In June 1785 an advertisement appeared stating that Henry Kennedy had taken "the well known Mead House, the sign of the Two Friendly Brothers, late occupied by Mrs. Montanye" with gardens attached, but in February 1786 it was again advertised to be let, and in 1789 it was apparently kept by Jacob de la Montagnie.

Among the few residents on Great George Street in 1789 were at No. 1, on the present site of the Astor House, Walter Rutherford; No. 2, Lewis Scott, State Secretary; No. 3, William Warner, livery stable; No. 5, Miss Moore; No. 6, Charles Warner, coach-maker, and James Warner, harness-maker. Number 8 was at the corner of Robinson Street (Park Place), and near Murray Street was John Walker's ball-court; John Leonard lived at No. 36; John Nourse at No. 42; and No. 43 was the residence of Lewis Nichols, cabinet-maker. Number 1 Great George Street had been built before the Revolution by Major Walter Rutherford, a British army officer, who occupied it for many years; and No.

2 had been confiscated from Colonel Axtell, also of the British army, and by Act of March 29th 1784 appropriated to the use of the State Secretary who occupied it until the removal of the State Government to Albany in 1797. To the west of Great George Street, above Reade Street, there were few buildings east of Greenwich Street. Church Street ran, as a lane, about to the present Anthony Street, and there ended. No other streets were laid out between it and Greenwich Street, the land being largely a swamp.

To the east of Great George Street and approximately bounded on the west by the present Centre Street, on the south by Duane Street, and on the north and east by Pearl Street, was a small pond which connected on the north with the Collect or Fresh Water Pond, the latter occupying the space now approximately bounded by Franklin, Elm, Worth, and Baxter Streets, including the site of the Tombs or, more properly speaking, the Halls of Justice. North of the Collect were swamps and bogs through which its outlet ran northwest to the present crossing of Broadway and Canal Street, where it was spanned by a bridge, and thence flowed nearly along the present line of Canal Street into the North River. Between the two ponds, on what was once a small island, stood a powder-house which in June 1788 was leased for three years at an annual rent of £42, and which disappeared by the summer of 1791. In winter the Collect was used as a skating-pond, and one of the uses to which it was put in summer appears from a complaint published in the *New York Packet* of August 19th 1784 that, in that warm and dry season, a great number of people assembled around the pond whence the tea-water was drawn and washed their dirty linen therein. Before the Revolution an attempt had been made to introduce a system of waterworks, and in 1776 a reservoir had been completed by Christopher Colles from which the water was to be distributed through wooden pipes. It was situated on the east side of Broadway between the present Pearl and White Streets and the water was to be pumped into it from wells, but the Revolution put an end to the scheme. On January 29th 1788 a petition to the Common Council appeared in the

New York Packet praying that the houses might be supplied with water through pipes, provided that the average tax for that purpose should not exceed 26 shillings for each house. According to this plan the annual expense was to be £4160, to be raised by a tax of 40s. on 1000 houses, 26s. on 1000 more, and 10s. 2d. upon 1200 more, the total number of houses to be furnished with water being estimated at three thousand two hundred. And again on the 30th of January 1789, the Mayor presented to the Common Council a letter which he had received from the Rumseian Society of Philadelphia stating that Mr. Rumsey had invented an engine far superior to any other for supplying towns with water, that he had applied to the Legislature for the exclusive right to put such engines in operation, and that the Corporation would do well to make immediate arrangements for the use of the engine or to complete the contract for it during the following summer. The state of the city finances, however, forbade such an investment, and for a number of years the greater part of the city water continued to be supplied by the Tea Water Pump, which stood in Chatham Street a little to the north-east of the end of Queen (Pearl) Street. The water was carried around the city by "tea-water men" in carts built for that purpose, the price being 3d. a hogshead of 130 gallons at the pump. The well in which this pump stood was fed from the Collect, and was about twenty feet deep and four feet in diameter, the average quantity of water drawn from it daily being about 110 hogsheads. In hot weather as many as 216 hogsheads were drawn in a day, and it is said that there were never more nor less than three feet of water in the well. The Collect having been granted to Anthony Rutgers in 1733, the city purchased his heirs' interest in it for £150 in 1791, and, after becoming an unmitigated nuisance, it was filled up between the years 1800 and 1810.

The Park, which had been enclosed with a wooden fence in 1785, extended in triangular shape from Vesey to Murray Street, and north of it, about on the northerly line of Murray Street, stood the Bridewell, Almshouse, and Jail, in a row facing south. The Bridewell, or criminal prison, which stood

nearest to Great George Street, was erected in 1775, according to plans furnished by Theophilus Hardenbrook, and had been paid for by a lottery in which the city bought a thousand tickets. It was a long two-story building constructed of gray stone, the keeper and his assistants occupying the first floor, and the second floor being divided into two wards, one of which, for the keeping of less desperate criminals, was called the Upper Hall and the other the Chain Room. During the Revolution the British had used the building as a prison, and its use as such was continued until 1838 when it was torn down and some of the stones were used in the construction of the present Tombs. To the east of the Bridewell, about on the site of the present City Hall was the Almshouse, a two-story gray stone building, fifty-six feet in front by twenty-four feet deep, erected in 1736, at an expense of £122 10s. and demolished in 1797. These institutions were under the care of thirteen commissioners whose proceedings were investigated annually by the Common Council and apparently required some supervision, as in May 1788, a committee of the Common Council, appointed to investigate a charge that the Commissioners had furnished bad butter and flour, found that the statement was true. This, however, was said to have happened accidentally; but in February 1790, Willett Seaman, one of the commissioners, was ordered to take back a quantity of poor shoes which he had furnished to the Almshouse and to refund the money which had been paid for them. The expenses of the Almshouse during the year amounted to about £3700 or \$9250, those of the Bridewell being considerably less. The vagrants confined in the latter were employed in August in cleaning out the drains beneath the Exchange and the Fly Market, the Common Council having petitioned in October 1788 for the enactment of a law providing for hard labor by vagrants both within and without doors. Beyond the Almshouse stood the Jail, or debtor's prison, a rough stone building three stories high, surmounted by a large cupola containing a bell. A corridor ran through the middle of the building, and one side of the second floor was used as a chapel. In 1830, the Common Coun-

cil decided to reconstruct this building for the use of the Register of Deeds, and the cupola and top floor were removed, the exterior stuccoed, and the present porticoes put up, the changes being completed in 1832 when the building was occupied by the offices of the Surrogate, Register, Comptroller, and Street Commissioners. The Register's Office alone has occupied it since 1870 when further changes were made in it. The practically endless imprisonment of debtors was greatly modified by an Act passed February 13th 1789 limiting imprisonment for debts of £10 or less to thirty days, and that for larger amounts to three months, provided that the debtor would make oath that he had no property wherewith to pay his debts, but these unfortunates still led a miserable existence. On the 9th of April 1788 the Common Council accepted an offer from John Pearsee the keeper of the jail to feed the prisoners at 8d. a day each, but the meagre fare which they received from this source was supplemented by contributions of food from the Society for the relief of Distressed Debtors which had been founded January 26th 1787. According to the original plan this society was to consist of twenty-four members who were to meet on the second Friday in every month and to choose a president at each meeting, while the secretary and treasurer were to be chosen annually and a committee of three members was to be chosen to visit the jail at stated times, one of its members retiring from office each month. In 1789 the officers of the society were

President, REV. DR. JOHN RODGERS.

Vice-president, DR. JAMES COGSWELL.

Treasurer, RICHARD PLATT.

Secretary, MOSES ROGERS.

Its charitable work seems to have been very successful as on the 11th of May 1789 it acknowledged the receipt of 1500 pounds of fresh beef which it had received from an unknown person between the 17th of February and the 30th of April, and in December 1789 the prisoners returned thanks for a contribution of fifty guineas from the President of the United

States. The secretary of the society, however, published a card stating that the society had not authorized the announcement of the President's gift, as he had requested that it should be kept secret. On the 25th of October 1789 a charity sermon for the benefit of the society was also preached in the North Dutch Church, probably by Dr. Linn who was one of its founders.

Between the Jail and the Almshouse stood the Gallows in a gaudily painted Chinese pagoda erected in 1784, which, under the barbarous laws then existing, was put to frequent use, as by Acts passed in February 1788 the penalty of death was attached to the crimes of treason, murder, forgery, counterfeiting, rape, forcible detaining of women, robbing a church, housebreaking by day or night if the house were occupied, robbery, wilful burning of any house or barn, and malicious maiming. An Act of February 16th 1787 provided that no person should be taken or imprisoned upon the appeal of a woman, for the death of any other than of her husband. During the year 1789 the Court of Oyer and Terminer imposed ten sentences of death, all for burglary, robbery, and forgery, five executions taking place on the 23rd of October. Near the gallows also stood the whipping-post and stocks for the punishment of minor offences, the public whipper, Joseph Shelvey, receiving a yearly salary of £25 for his services. By Act of March 24th 1787 larceny was to be punished by such corporal punishment as the court might direct, but, if by whipping, not to exceed thirty-nine lashes in one day. In February 1788, the Justices of the Sessions were also authorized to punish disorderly persons and vagrants by six months imprisonment and whipping at such times as they might consider proper; but in February 1789 the Act was modified by adding hard labor to the imprisonment, and leaving the whipping part of the punishment to the discretion of the court. An example of this kind of punishment was given in February 1789 when George Talbot and Richard Howard, for grand larceny, were sentenced to one month's imprisonment and to receive twenty lashes at the cart's tail on three successive Mondays, near the Exchange, the Fly Market, and the Peck Slip Market. At

the same time others were sentenced to 39 lashes for petit larceny, and one month's imprisonment and 39 lashes for grand larceny. The penalty of death was confined to the crimes of treason and murder only by Act of March 21st 1801 and whipping was dropped from the punishment of larceny at the same time.

In the rear of these city buildings, upon the present line of Chambers Street, were the Upper Barracks which had been used by the British. In January 1790 the Common Council ordered them to be sold and removed by the 1st of June, but they appear on the map of 1791.

Broadway in 1789 was of less importance both as a place of business and of residence than were the streets to the east of it. It was paved from the Bowling Green to Vesey Street but its grading was probably very bad. The method of regulating and paving the streets at that time is well illustrated by proceedings in the Common Council in 1788 with regard to this street. On the 9th of April the clerk was ordered to prepare an ordinance for the digging down and paving of Broadway, Verlittenbergh (Exchange Place), and New Streets, according to the proposed regulation of those streets reported August 23rd 1786. On the 21st of May complaint was made that the arch of the pavement then being laid descended too much toward the houses, and a surveyor was ordered to arrange the matter satisfactorily to the property owners. On the 23rd of May he reported that the arch of the street was six inches too high, and would now be lowered to eighteen inches. But later in the year another complaint was made by Mrs. McAdam which was referred to a committee who made a report on the 27th of October. Their statement was that the distance from the northeast corner of the Lutheran Church lot on the corner of Rector Street to the south line of Mrs. McAdam's lot was 255 feet, and that the descent was 4 feet 11½ inches, while the distance from Mrs. McAdam's lot to the pump opposite Mr. McComb's house was 151 feet and the ascent 1 foot 4 inches. Upon this statement it was resolved that the ground opposite the pump at Mr. McComb's be taken down six inches, and the pump removed; that the

pavement on the west side of Broadway be taken up and relaid with regular descent from the Lutheran Church past Mr. McComb's door; that the east side of Broadway at Verlitten Hill be raised twelve inches, and continued with proper descent down the same; and that John Stagg should be employed to do the work and should receive for it £120, and the necessary amount of sand. A motion was then made that John McComb, the city surveyor who then had the work in charge, be removed from office for incapacity, but action upon it was postponed, and he was afterwards promised a hearing, which was apparently satisfactory to the Common Council. Public pumps stood in the middle of Broadway for many years after 1789, it being the usual custom for the householders to dig the well and for the city to contribute £10 toward the building of the pump.

The most noteworthy buildings on Broadway in 1789 were St. Paul's Chapel, the City Tavern, Trinity Church, the McComb mansion, and the Kennedy mansion. A description of the churches will be found in another chapter. The City Tavern, a wooden building which stood on the west side of the street, between Thames and Little Queen (Cedar) Streets on the site of the present Boreel Building, was the principal hostelry of the city, its long-room being used for society dinners, lectures, and various public amusements. In December 1789 the Common Council also made arrangements for its use by the courts, as the Exchange, in which they had been held, was to be used by the Legislature. The building had first been used as a dwelling house but was opened as a tavern by Edward Willet in 1754, his successors down to the Revolution bearing the names of Crawley, Burns, Bolton, and Hull. During part of the war it was kept by one Hicks, who was succeeded in 1781 by Charles Roubalet, and in October 1783, it passed into the hands of John Cape, who advertised it in April 1784 under the title of "The State Arms of New York at No. 18 Broadway." In February 1786 Mr. Cape, having fallen into financial troubles, absconded, and the contents of the tavern having been sold by the sheriff, it passed to the management of Joseph Corre, who

advertised that private families might advantageously place their cooks under his instruction. In April 1788 Mr. Corre removed elsewhere, and the City Tavern passed into the hands of Edward Bardin, an experienced innkeeper, under whose management it remained until 1793 when the building was demolished to be replaced by the Tontine City Hotel.

The McComb mansion, on the west side of Broadway, was built in 1786 by Alexander McComb, as a residence, and in 1790 was occupied by Washington as a presidential mansion, its rent being \$2500 a year. In later years it became a part of Bunker's Hotel at No. 39 Broadway.

No. 1 Broadway, known as the Kennedy mansion because of its ownership by Capt. Archibald Kennedy of the English navy, who married into the Watts family, was one of the finest houses in the city, being a spacious two story and attic brick building with the entrance in the middle and two windows on each side of it, the frontage on Broadway being fifty-six feet. The block upon which it stood escaped the fire of 1776, and during the Revolution this house is said to have been occupied by a Mrs. Loring as a fashionable boarding-house. After the Revolution, it is said to have been occupied for a time by Isaac Sears, a merchant, who was commonly known as "King Sears" from his daring leadership of the Liberty Boys. In 1785, however, King Sears was overwhelmed with debt, and having on the 3rd of February made an assignment of his interest in the assets of the firm of Sears and Smith to his partner, Pascal N. Smith, took advantage of his immunity from arrest as a member of the Assembly and sailed for China, where he ended his stormy career on the 28th of October 1786. In 1789, and perhaps before that year, this house was occupied by Don Diego de Gardoqui, the Spanish Ambassador, and in 1790 it was occupied by Mrs. Graham's fashionable boarding-school for young ladies. In after years it was the residence of Nathaniel Prime, was later turned into the Washington Hotel, and was finally demolished for the erection of the present Washington Building.

The Bowling Green had been enclosed as a park as early as 1733, and near its lower end stood in 1789 the foundation

of the statue of George III. erected in 1770 and demolished at the declaration of independence. This foundation was not torn up until 1818, and the stone base of the statue, after serving as a gravestone and as a door step, is now in the possession of the New York Historical Society, together with the tail of the king's horse. In 1789 a committee of the Common Council was appointed to put the Green in order and to rent it, and it is said that their duty also included the removal of the "Federal Ship Hamilton," a miniature 32 gun frigate, thirty feet long and ten feet wide, which had been used in the Federal Procession on the 23rd of July 1788, and then deposited in the Green. The Bowling Green was oval in shape, with the smaller end toward the north, and was about 220 feet long by 130 feet in its widest part. The statue of George III. stood about 50 feet from its lower end, which was on a line with the present north side of Battery Place. Directly below the Bowling Green was Fort George, the distance from the lower end of the Green to the north line of the enclosure of the Fort being 150 feet. By an Act passed March 29th 1784 the Fort had been placed under the control of the Governor, but in 1788 a dispute arose between the State and City authorities as to which held title to the premises. The Attorney General reported that there was no doubt as to the State's title, and from a survey of the property, made in 1788, the following description is made with approximate accuracy as to distances. The Fort was a rectangle with large solid five-sided bastions at its corners, its parapet consisting of a wall of masonry from eight to ten feet thick, banked with a mound of earth about fifteen feet thick on its easterly and southerly sides and of about twice that thickness on the westerly side, the distance of which from the water's edge was about 200 feet. The curtains of the Fort were about 140 feet in length on the east side, and about 145 feet on its southerly and westerly sides. The bastion at its northwest corner was complete, but the left face of its northeast bastion was but half finished and its left flank was entirely wanting. The distance between the flanked angles of the bastions was 305 feet on the east side of the fort, 340 feet on its south side, and

320 feet on its west side. The side toward the Bowling Green was not fortified. Inside of the Fort, close to its westerly wall, was a barracks 100 feet long by 20 feet deep; near what should have been the left shoulder angle of its northeast bastion was a small stable; and just outside of the right face of its northwest bastion was a larger stable. On the corner of Whitehall Street and the present Bowling Green, was the old office of the Colonial Secretary, a building 55 long by 30 feet deep, which faced on Whitehall Street. Entrance was apparently made to the Fort through a passage along the southerly end of this building leading into the incomplete left face of the northeast bastion. On the easterly and southerly sides of the Fort were large gardens. The whole structure in 1789 was in a state of dilapidation and decay, and was worthless for purposes of defence, if it had ever possessed any such value. What had once been an earthwork, and still contained guns, was known as the Battery and extended from what was known as Eld's corner, on the south line of Battery Place, along the water's edge to Whitehall Slip, there being three bastions in that distance of about 1450 feet. On the 10th of June 1789 the Common Council appointed a committee to confer with the Assemblymen from the city as to the best means of obtaining for the city's use the lands at the Fort, Battery, and Nutten (Governor's) Island, which were then controlled by the State. The result of this conference was the adoption of a resolution by the Legislature, in July 1789, that the ground upon which the Fort stood should be reserved for public use, and that a house for the use of the President of the United States should be erected upon part of it, the necessary provision for such a building to be made at its next session. It also requested the Governor to direct that Broadway should be continued through the Fort, so much of that building as obstructed, to be removed at state expense. In accordance with this resolution the Governor and the Common Council viewed the ground on the 30th of July 1789, and the Governor proposed to remove, at state expense, so much of the Fort as obstructed the line of Broadway to the river, and that the city should erect bulkheads "from

Eld's corner to the Flat Rock" to receive the dirt from the Fort and thus enlarge the area of the Battery. The Common Council at once agreed to this and, on the 12th of August, decided that a bulkhead should be immediately built from Kennedy's Wharf, which was apparently near Eld's corner, to the northwest bastion of the Battery, a distance of about 210 feet. The work was done by Elias Burger, jr., for £378 or \$946, and seems to have proceeded quite rapidly as, in November, the newspapers announced that half of it had been completed, and that it was hoped that in the Spring a beautiful circuitous street would be completed around three-quarters of New York by way of Greenwich Street to Whitehall, and thence along the East River on the Albany Pier.

The whole plot of ground included in the premises belonging to the Fort extended from the north corner of the Secretary's Office southerly 395 feet along the west side of Whitehall Street to the lower end of a small building at the corner of the land of Capt. Thomas Randall, thence nearly due west about 425 feet to a point which had formerly been the shore line, and thence northerly about 400 feet to Eld's corner on the south line of the present Battery Place, and along it 430 feet to Whitehall Street. By an Act passed on the 16th of March 1790 the portion retained by the State was defined as extending the whole length on Whitehall Street, and about 192 feet from the corner of that street along Battery Place, its westerly boundary being a line about 360 feet long which terminated nearly at the flanked angle of the southwest bastion of the Fort, whence its southerly line ran nearly due east to Whitehall Street. This portion included the whole of the Fort, with the exception of its northwest bastion and a portion of its western parapet; all the remaining land at the Battery belonging to the State was, by the same Act, vested in the City Corporation to be used for buildings and purposes of defence only.

The plan of erecting the President's House on the site of the Fort met with some opposition on the ground that it might easily be destroyed by the guns of some adventurous cruiser. A complainant in the *New York Journal* of August

6th 1789 stated that the site was poor on account of the neighborhood, and that "this valuable property should stand alone in some spacious square with gardens and court annexed, on account of magnificence, beauty, salubrity and safety." He suggested as a proper site the Spring Garden, Rutger's farm, or what was formerly Delancy's. These objections, however, were not heeded and the construction of the new building, on the site of the six brick buildings now occupied by steamship offices facing the lower end of the Bowling Green, was placed in the hands of three commissioners, John Watts, Richard Varick, and Gerard Bancker, its first stone being laid on the 21st of May 1790. The State granted £8000 for its construction, but it was never occupied by the President, as the seat of the National Government was removed to Philadelphia before its completion; but the Governor occupied it for some years and it was afterwards used as the custom-house. In levelling the ground at the Fort several old relics were unearthed, including Dutch tobacco-pipes of rude workmanship, the remains of a brass-hilted sword, and a few coins, one of which bore the date 1605. In removing the earth where the old Dutch chapel had stood, a number of bones were dug up and three burial vaults were discovered, in the first of which was found the coffin-plate of Lady Elizabeth Hays, wife of Governor Hunter, who died August 8th 1716. The second vault contained pieces of four or five coffins, one of which made of lead, bore the escutcheon of the Coote family of Ireland and was identified as that of Lord Bellamont who died in 1701; the third vault contained but a few bones. A square stone was also found in the foundations of the Fort among the ruins of the old chapel, bearing the inscription in Dutch, "In the year of our Lord 1642, William Kieft, Director-General, caused the Congregation to build this Church." This stone was preserved in the Garden Street Dutch Church until its destruction by fire in 1835.

Below the Fort property was a plot of ground extending along Whitehall Street about 125 feet to the corner of Pearl Street which ran one block west of Whitehall Street to the water's edge. Below it was another block of about 200 feet

on Whitehall Street, the lower boundary of which was called Copsie Street, which ran one block west of Whitehall Street, and marked the original shore line. On its south side were the Lower Barracks, which in 1789 were apparently used as dwelling houses, the building being about 210 feet long by 25 feet deep, with an ell about 70 feet long at its west end. The space of about 240 feet from the front of these Barracks to the southern extremity of the island was apparently unoccupied, with the exception of one small house on the west side of Whitehall Street.

The houses on Broadway were not numbered by any regular system and the street numbers in 1789 can be used in few instances for the present identification of the sites of buildings. Thus, No. 33 was at one of the corners of Cortlandt Street; No. 29 was near Maiden Lane and No. 58 was nearly opposite to it; No. 62 was at the corner of Liberty Street; No. 76 was nearly opposite the City Tavern which was between the present numbers 113 and 121; and No. 85 was nearly opposite to Trinity Church. Odd and even numbers were given to houses without regard to the side of the street upon which they stood, and in some cases two houses bore the same number. The first systematic numbering of the houses was proposed in 1790. Many of the citizens changed their residence during the year, but from the City Directory for 1789 and from newspaper advertisements in that year, all the inhabitants upon Broadway and the number of their houses at that time appear to have been as follows:

No.	No.
1. Don Diego de Gardoqui.	11. Elizabeth B. Hatter.
2. John King, shoemaker.	Benjamin Groves.
3. Robert R. Livingston,	12. Mrs. Ball, dry nurse.
chancellor.	Derril Mack, shoemaker.
4.	Mrs. Montrieff, school.
5. Mrs. Cortlandt.	13. Widow Ingram.
6. Mrs. McAdam. Mrs. White.	Henry King, carpenter.
7.	14. — Battow, upholsterer.
8. Henry White.	Abraham Benzaken, tailor.
9. Garret Heyer, shoemaker.	15. Hercules Wendover, tavern.
10. Gen. Maunsel.	16. Widow Barham, porterhouse.

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| No. | No. |
| Dinah Clark, washerwoman. | 40. J. W. Gilbert, storekeeper. |
| 17. George Walker, cake shop. | Frederick Merchant, shoe- |
| 18. | maker. |
| 19. Richard Anderson, grocer. | William Parker, tailor. |
| John Wickman, attorney. | 41. John King, shoemaker, |
| 20. Philip Jacobs, shopkeeper. | 42. Sigismund Hugget, grocer. |
| 21. Henry Whiteman, shopkeeper. | 43. James Hallett, coachmaker. |
| 22. Widow Bailey, boarding-house. | 44. John McKesson, clerk of |
| 23. William Allen, gunsmith. | Supreme Court. |
| 24. | 45. Blaise Moore, tobacconist. |
| 25. Nicholas Bogart. | 46. Rev. Benjamin Moore. |
| Samuel B. Webb. | 47. Robert Dodds, silk-dyer. |
| 26. Cornelius Bogart. | 48. John Houseman, shopkeeper. |
| 27. John Amory, whipmaker. | 49. John Glover, dry goods store. |
| Hayman Solomon, shopkeeper. | 50. Peter Ritter, ironware and |
| 28. Nicholas Bogart, shopkeeper. | jewelry. |
| Peter Jay Munro, attorney. | 51. |
| 29. Ebenezer Hazard, postmaster- | 52. William Deane, coachmaker. |
| general. | 53. Benjamin Haight, saddler. |
| 30. Daniel McLaren, shopkeeper. | 54. McLeod & Masterson, shop. |
| John Stoutenburgh, merchant. | 55. |
| 31. Frederick Ransier, cooper. | 56. Widow Colley, boarding-house. |
| 32. John Bogart, ironmonger. | John Dover, storekeeper. |
| John Miller, hairdresser. | David Cation, storekeeper. |
| Thomas Mullet, merchant. | 57. David Coutant, chairmaker. |
| 33. Jacobus Bogart, baker. | Theodorus J. Hamilton, grocer. |
| James Bond, blacksmith. | Henry Roome, storekeeper. |
| Pascal N. Smith, merchant. | 58. Jacob Morton, attorney. |
| 34. Samuel Jones, attorney. | 59. James Kipp, brass founder. |
| Jacob Resler, Chandler. | 60. Mrs. Bowie, shopkeeper. |
| 35. Frederick Heerman, druggist. | Anthony Latour, barber. |
| Leonard Rogers, breeches- | Widow McKinley. |
| maker. | 61. John B. Dash, jr., hardware. |
| 36. John Fawpel, peruke-maker. | 62. Sebastian Bauman, grocer and |
| Henry Frederick, breeches- | postmaster. |
| maker. | 63. Christopher Beekman. |
| John Hoffman, dry goods. | Mrs. Sebring, boarding-house. |
| 37. John Pierce, shopkeeper. | 64. Alexander Hamilton, shoe- |
| William Ross, harness-maker. | maker. |
| 38. John Jones, dry goods store. | 65. James Anderson, shoemaker. |
| John Mills, shoemaker. | 66. Abraham Brown, tailor. |
| 39. Sylvester Buskirk, tinware. | 67. Thomas Grindell, pewterer. |
| Thomas Lefoy, hatter. | 68. John B. Dash, sr., hardware. |
| Cato Railmore, fruit shop. | 69. Ephraim Ross, tavern. |

No.	No.
70. Mary Dixon.	89.
71. Widow Hoffman, shopkeeper.	90. Lawrence Kortwright,
72. John Jackson, carpenter.	merchant.
James Nesmith.	91. John Foxcroft, agent for British
William Roberts, cordwainer.	packets.
73. Joseph Quinnion, tailor.	92.
74.	93. John H. Merkle, goldsmith.
75. John Jackson, shopkeeper.	John Nixson, cookshop.
76. Mrs. Carter, young ladies'	94. Widow Laycock.
school.	95. Walter Livingston, attorney.
77. Baptist Gilliaux, hairdresser.	96. John Cochrane, M.D.
78.	97. Mrs. James. George Turnbull.
79.	98. Thomas Ellison.
80. John Stackler, blacksmith.	99. Robert Melvin, carpenter.
81. Thomas Parsell, coachmaker.	Joseph Nourse, register of the
82.	treasury.
83. William S. Livingston,	100. John Charlton, M.D.
attorney.	Peter McKinnion, hairdresser.
84. Mrs. McCullen, boarding-	101. James Hill, painter.
house.	102. James Hill, jr.
James Jarvis.	103.
85. Peter Deschent, fruit shop.	104. John Slidell, Chandler.
Archibald McCullum, saddler.	Thomas Ten Eyck, merchant.
Malcolm Campbell, school.	105—117.
86. Joseph Harden.	118. Anthony Bolton, shoemaker.
James Tillery, M.D.	119. William Heyer.
John Van Gelder, tailor.	120. John Rogers, merchant.
87. Mrs. Bayard.	121—132.
David Campbell, attorney.	133. John Jay.
88. W. G. Forbes, goldsmith.	

Among the residents whose street numbers do not appear in the Directory were M. du Moustier, the French minister, who resided near the Bowling Green; Gen. Henry Knox, who resided in 1787, at No. 4 Broadway, and probably occupied the same house in 1789; Alderman William W. Gilbert; Widow Van Cortlandt, on the corner of Thames Street now occupied by the Trinity Building; James Thompson, merchant, corner of Thames Street; Manasseh Salter, shopkeeper; and William Wilmerding, storekeeper, corner of Dey Street. Elbridge Gerry and William Smith, congressmen from Massachusetts, also lived on Broadway, the former at

the corner of Thames Street with his father-in-law James Thompson, and the latter next door to the Spanish Minister. Senator Ralph Izard of South Carolina lived opposite the French Ambassador. The east side of Broadway below Wall Street had been swept by the fire of 1776 and had been rebuilt with cheap frame buildings but these were beginning to be replaced by fine residences, and, a few years later, the lower part of Broadway became one of the most fashionable places of residence. The house occupied by Gen. Knox, the Secretary of War, which was advertised for sale in the latter part of 1789 was probably a fair representative of the better class of dwelling houses at that time. It was described as a four story brick house on the west side of Broadway, $31\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide by 60 feet deep, containing two rooms of thirty feet in length, one of twenty-six feet, three of twenty-three feet, and two of twenty feet, besides four other rooms with fireplaces, and four smaller ones without them. On the ground-floor there was a large servant's-hall which communicated with the area, and a kitchen 20 ft. by 30 ft. in dimension. In the rear of the house there was a piazza thirty feet long by ten feet wide and the back yard contained a good well, cistern, and ash-house. The lots ran back about 500 feet to the end of a wharf on Greenwich Street, and upon one of them, fronting upon Greenwich Street, was a coach-house twenty-eight feet four inches wide.

No houses were allowed to be erected in the city unless the property was previously surveyed by a city surveyor, the penalty for disobedience of this rule being a fine of £5, and by ordinance of April 15th 1789 no stoop was to extend more than six feet nor any bow-window more than twenty inches into any street. The City Surveyors were Isaac Stoutenburg, jr., Dey Street near Broadway; John McComb, 21 Smith (William) Street; Evert Bancker, 3 Fair (Fulton) Street; and Charles T. Goerck, 20 Gold Street. The transfers of real estate on Broadway in 1789 were very few. Among the deeds recorded in that year, but dated two or three years before, was one conveying for £700 a plot of ground on the north-west corner of Broadway and Liberty Street twenty-five feet

wide by ninety feet deep, with a smaller plot in the rear, while another lot in the same neighborhood, thirty-eight feet wide by ninety feet deep, was sold for £600. A plot on the west side of the street, probably some distance below Wall Street, having a frontage of 105 feet and a depth of 270 feet to high water, running thence to low-water mark and thence 200 feet into the North River, was sold for £3,200. A Church Farm lot twenty-five feet wide by 108 feet 9 inches deep on the west side of Broadway between Warren and Murray Streets brought £240, and £150 were paid for a lot 33 feet wide by 190 feet deep on Great George Street in the neighborhood of the Collect.

The cross streets on the west side of Broadway were nearly the same as at the present time but in a few cases had different names. Duane Street, which extended but one block west of Broadway was called Barley Street; Park Place was called Robinson Street and was not cut through the block then occupied by Columbia College; Fulton Street on that side of the city was called Partition Street, while Liberty and Cedar Streets were known respectively as Crown and Little Queen Streets. Exchange Place on the west side was known as Oyster Pasty Lane, and the present Morris Street was called Beaver Lane. West Broadway and College Place ran only from Reade to Barclay Street and were called Chapel Street, while Church Street extended only from Reade to Fulton Street. The street corresponding to the present New Church Street extended from Liberty Street to Exchange Place and was known as Lumber Street. Improvements in these streets had been begun in 1788 and during that and the following year Barclay, Vesey, Partition, Cortlandt, and Lumber Streets and Oyster Pasty Lane were ordered to be paved. Among the residents on Cortlandt Street were at No. 1, William J. Elsworth, pewterer, and Dr. Edward Eager; No. 46, James Prince, merchant; No. 49, Samuel Fraunces, tavern; No. 63, Rev. Dr. John Mason; and No. 66, Rev. Dr. William Linn.

One of the streets upon which the greatest improvements were being made was Greenwich Street, which ran close to

the water's edge from the Battery to Cedar Street, but from that point to Reade Street was separated from the North River by short blocks filled in on its west side. In May 1788, a part of it was being regulated and in July of the same year, the Common Council ordered the paving of it from Cortlandt to Barclay Street. Subsequently this work was ordered to be extended to Warren Street, and by the 29th of September, 1789, it had progressed so far that a committee of the Common Council was appointed to investigate the error in it. The street was also apparently widened as a number of old buildings were removed from the line of it, and commissioners during the year 1789 awarded about £1950 to property owners for injury caused to their premises by the improvements. The commissioners themselves, five in number, asked for but \$120 for their services. Among the places of business on Greenwich Street were that of Frederick and Philip Rhinelanders on the corner of Barclay Street, and the store of Isaac Stoutenburgh and Son, on the corner of Dey Street. In June 1789, the corporation of Trinity Church announced the sale at auction of two lots on the corner of Greenwich and Murray Streets with the house lately occupied by Mr. Richard Deane, and also the much-admired lots called Vaux Hall, which were one hundred feet square with buildings and gardens bounded in part by Warren Street. Another advertisement of the sale of a distillery on Greenwich Street describes it as the growing part of the city.

Pearl Street, which was originally on the water-line, in 1789 bore that name only from the present State Street to Broad Street. From Broad Street to Wall Street it was called Great Dock Street, and thence to its end at Chatham Street it was known as Queen Street, a name which it received in 1695 and retained until toward the close of the last century. In 1788 and 1789 it was regulated and paved from the present Oak Street to Coenties Alley. A number of the chief merchants had their residences and places of business in the part of it known as Great Dock Street, while the part known as Queen Street shared with Water Street and Hanover Square the principal business of the city. The highest

street number given to a house on Great Dock Street by the city directory of 1789 is fifty-six. A few of the residents on that street were as follows :

No.	No.
2. Josiah Ogden Hoffman, attorney.	14. Johnston & Ogden, merchants.
9. Farmer & Bishop, store.	17. Christopher Beekman, tavern.
10. Abraham Brinkerhoff, store.	19. Abraham Maziere.
11. Atwood & Tronson, iron.	35. Gulian Verplanck.
12. J. B. Colles, iron. Nicholas Hoffman & Son, merchants.	39. William Constable & Co., merchants.
13. Robert C. Livingston.	40. William Neilson, merchant.
	41. Hill & Ogden, merchants.

At No. 15 was Mrs. Dunscomb's boarding-house which was patronized by Caleb Strong, Fisher Ames, Theodore Sedgwick, and George Leonard of Massachusetts. On Queen Street the highest street number was 244 and some of the residents were :

No.	No.
1. James Rivington, bookseller & tobacconist.	44. James Scott, merchant.
4. William Bayard, merchant.	50. Thomas Franklin, merchant.
8. Joshua Waddington & Co., merchants.	51. Edward Livingston, attorney.
9. Isaac Desbrosses.	52. Walter Buchanan, merchant. Jacob Leroy & Son, merchants.
11. Richard Harrison, attorney.	56. Willet Seaman, merchant.
13. Samuel Dunlap, store. William Dunlap, portrait painter.	67. William Walton.
15. Alexander Robertson, merchant. James Smith, merchant.	68. Jared Walton.
17. George Scriba, merchant.	73. James Roosevelt, merchant.
21. John Keese, notary public.	79. Ephraim Brasher, goldsmith.
24. John J. Glover, merchant.	98. Solomon Hull, soap-boiler.
25. Nicholas Brevoort, iron.	101. White Matlack, brewer.
26. Alexander Dunlap, iron.	155. John Murray.
37. George Bowne, merchant.	156. Benjamin Kissam, M.D.
38. John Bard, iron.	159. James Roosevelt & Son, merchants.
39. Robert Bowne, merchant.	162. John Lawrence, merchant.
43. Pearsall & Embree, watches.	168. Peter Byvanck, iron.
	171. James Cogswell, physician.
	173. James W. Depeyster, merchant.

No.	No.
175. William Depeyster, dry goods.	212. Alsop & James Hunt,
177. Peter & James Burling,	leather.
181. Streatfield & Levinus	213. John Thompson, merchant.
Clarkson.	215. William Wilson, merchant.
183. Samuel Franklin, merchant.	222. David Provoost, merchant.
184. Murray & Sansom, merchants.	223. Lyde & Rogers, merchants.
185. Effingham Embree.	227. Effingham Lawrence,
189. William Kenyon, merchant.	druggist.
190. William & Samuel Bowne,	228. Besley & Goodwin,
merchants.	druggists.
191. De Luze, de Montmollin & Co.	233. George Lewis & Co.,
193. Edmund Prior, merchant.	merchants.
194. James Parsons & Son,	234. Andrew Mitchell, merchant.
merchants.	235. Robert Lenox, merchant.
196. Embree & Lawrence, iron.	236. George Douglas, jr., merchant.
197. Henry Haydock, merchant.	237. Robert Hodge, bookseller.
200. William Laight & Co.,	238. Hay Stevenson & Co.,
merchants.	merchants.
201. Hallet & Brown, iron.	239. M'Farran & Dunlap,
202. William Robinson, merchant.	auctioneers.
203. Thomas Pearsall & Son,	240. James Beckman, merchant.
merchants.	241. Jacob & Philip Marks,
205. Pearsall & Pell, merchants.	merchants.
	244. Frederick Jay, auctioneer.

By an Act passed on the 29th of March 1784 the Commissioners of Forfeitures were ordered to set apart such a house as the Governor might choose for a residence, and his choice fell upon the house Number 10 Queen Street, opposite the end of Cedar Street, which had been confiscated from Henry White. On the 1st of May 1786 the Commissioners were ordered to sell this house, and it was conveyed by them to Henry White, jr., by deed dated June 19th 1786, but the Governor apparently continued to reside in it, paying a rent of £300 a year. It was a two-story and attic house, five windows wide, with a sloping tiled roof, containing five dormer windows. The house on Pearl Street which has received the most attention in history was the Walton mansion on the east side of Franklin Square, and afterwards known as No. 326 Pearl Street. This house was built about the year 1754 of brick, which are said to have been brought from Holland,

trimmed with brown stone. It was fifty feet wide, with three stories and an attic, above which was a slightly sloping roof adorned with a balustrade in front. The entrance was in the middle of the building with spacious drawing-rooms on each side of it, the elegant woodwork and decoration of the interior making it one of the finest mansions in the city. Its builder was William Walton, an old merchant of the city, who, at his death, left it to his nephew William Walton, who was its owner in 1789 but resided himself at No. 67 Queen Street. From 1784 to 1787 the Walton house, which was known as No. 156 Queen Street, was occupied by the Bank of New York, and in 1789 it was the residence of Dr. Benjamin Kissam. After suffering various vicissitudes it was torn down in 1881. In 1789 the house No. 27 Queen Street, three stories high with three rooms on a floor, was rented for \$362.

Water Street from Whitehall Street to Old Slip was called Little Dock Street, but above the latter point was called Water Street to its end at James Slip. From Burling to James Slip it was the street nearest the East River. During the years 1788 and 1789 it was paved from Coenties Slip to Peck Slip, but a proposition to straighten it from Dover Street to James Slip was rejected by the Common Council in January 1789, and in June the paving of that portion of it was suspended until further order. Some of the householders on Little Dock Street in 1789 were:

No.		No.	
5.	George Remsen, merchant.	34.	John Elting, store.
7.	James Youle, ironmonger.	35.	Coster & Co., merchants.
8.	B. Swartwout & Son, store.	38.	John Cooper, furrier.
9.	Abraham Kipp, store.	40.	John Ten Eyck.
10.	Lansing & Heyer, store.	41.	Lynch & Stoughton, counting-house.
12.	Nicholas Hoffman & Sons, merchants.	42.	John Stoughton, merchant.
15.	William Durell, china.	43.	Josiah Shippey & Co., merchants.
16.	David Currie. Nicholas Hoffman.		Nicholas Van Antwerp, merchant.
20.	Elting & Varick, iron. Peter Elting, alderman.	48.	Townsend Underhill, merchant.
32.	Peter Elting, jr., store.	49.	John Lasher, port-officer.

On Water Street the highest street-number was 217, and among the householders were:

No.		No.	
5.	Samuel & John Loudon, printers.	136.	Samuel Delaplane, merchant.
6.	Henry Sewall, broker.	137.	Thomas & John Brown, boat builders.
7.	Robert Stewart, tobacco broker.	145.	Joseph Blakley, china.
17.	John Reid, bookseller.	157.	Coen & Wright, sailmakers.
24.	Jacob Hallet, merchant.	163.	Nicholas Delaplane, merchant.
	Nicholas Low, merchant.	170.	Wynant Van Zandt, jr., merchant.
26.	William Mercier, lighthouse office.	171.	William Johnson, iron.
27.	Theodosius Fowler, broker.	172.	Hawxhurst & Mowatts, china.
28.	George Pollock, merchant.	173.	Peter Griffin, dry goods.
29.	John Delafield, insurance broker.	174.	Samuel Forbes, dry goods.
		176.	William Thompson, dry goods.
31.	James Saidler, broker.	177.	Robert Johnson, dry goods.
32.	Daniel Phoenix, merchant.	178.	James Seaman, china.
35.	Moses Rogers & Co., merchants.	186.	William Henderson, insurance.
36.	Marinus Willet, merchant.	187.	John Price, merchant.
42.	Abraham Herring, store.	190.	Francis Childs, printer.
50.	David Grim, commission merchant.		John Swain, printer.
51.	Nathaniel Hazard, commission merchant.	194.	Charles M'Ever, insurance.
53.	P. P. Van Zandt, merchant.	195.	Richard Platt, broker.
55.	Leffert Lefferts, distiller.	196.	Thomas Greenleaf, printer.
56.	Thomas Lloyd, shorthand writer.	199.	Clark Greenwood, mathematical instruments.
		200.	Widow Bradford, coffee house.
61.	Jonathan Lawrence, merchant.	201.	William Hill, merchant.
62.	Sears & Smith, merchants.	202.	Leroy & Bayard, merchants.
68.	John Ireland, dry goods.	206.	Shedden, Patrick & Co. merchants.
70.	Thomas & William Burling, glass.	208.	Anthony L. Bleeker, auctioneer.
71.	Peter Schermerhorn, ship chandler.	210.	John McVicker, merchant.
101.	Alexander Hamilton & Co., distillers.	211.	Randal & Stewart, merchants.
103.	Thomas Andrews, parchment.	213.	John Shaw, merchant.
134.	Benjamin Hildrick, distiller.	215.	Sadlier & Bailey, merchants.
135.	Abram Walton.	217.	John Gibson, physician.

Front Street was of less importance. It ran only as far north as Burling Slip, and in 1788 and 1789 was paved from Coenties Slip to the foot of Maiden Lane.

Hanover Square was the chief centre of business after Pearl and Water Streets, and was paved in July 1789. Among the householders here were :

No.	No.
5. James Farquhar.	24. Timothy Hurst, druggist.
6. John Broome, merchant.	26. Oliver Hull, druggist.
7. Maule & Bullock, merchants.	31. Collin M'Gregor, merchant.
8. Henry Remsen.	32. Michael Roberts, jewelry & stationery.
10. John & Francis Aitkinson, merchants.	34. Thomas Roberts, dry goods.
11. Bank of New York.	35. Berry & Rogers, jewelry & stationery.
12. William Seton & Co. merchants.	37. Francis Durand, merchant.
13. Vanhorne & Clarkson, merchants.	38. Theophylact Bache, merchant.
14. James Barclay, auctioneer.	40. James Blecker, merchant.
16. William Van Nest, saddler.	41. Archibald M'Lean, printer.
18. M. & H. Oudenarde, merchants.	43. Uriah Hendricks, merchant.
23. Francis Wainwright, druggist.	44. Samuel Campbell, books.
	46. Andrew Hamersley, saddler.
	48. Peter Goelet, iron.

William Street below Maiden Lane was known as Smith Street, and, at its upper end, the two blocks from Frankfort to Pearl Street were called King George Street. In 1788 and 1789 it was paved from Stone Street to Wall, from Pine Street to Liberty, and from John Street to Beekman Street. With Nassau Street it shared the principal retail trade of the city, and was also a place of residence. Some of the householders on Smith Street were :

No.	No.
5. Obadiah & Andrew Bowne, dry goods.	21. John M'Comb, surveyor.
14. Peter Kemble, merchant.	22. John Marsden.
15. Mr. Kettelstas. Brockholst Livingston, attorney.	28. Peter Bogart.
16. Grove Bend, merchant.	47. Isaac Classon, merchant.
18. Thomas Storm, merchant.	49. Cornelius Ray, merchant.
	50. Charles M'Knight, physician.
	55. Anspach & Rogers.
	59. Donald B. Campbell.

On William Street were:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| No. | No. |
| 1. William Griggs, jewelry. | 46. Rev. Abram Beach. |
| 5. Mrs. Henshaw, ladies' academy. | 49. John Stakès, grocer. |
| 6. John Siemon, furrier. | 55. Gilbert Salionstall, merchant. |
| 11. Robert Robertson, merchant. | 56. John Greenwood, dentist. |
| 18. Pope & Cadle, stocking | 91. Commodore Nicholson. |
| factory. | 92. James Renwick, merchant. |
| 25. John Ramage, miniature | |
| painter. | |

Nassau Street also was a place of residence and of retail trade. Among the householders on it were:

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| No. | No. |
| 1. John Wiley, alderman. | 18. Garret Steddiford. |
| 2. John Burrows, chairmaker. | 21. John George Leake. |
| Rt. Rev. Samuel Provoost. | 23. William Mooney, upholsterer. |
| 5. Jacobus Lefferts. | 27. Richard Morris, chief-justice. |
| 10. Aaron Burr. | 48. Johnson & Lemilt, hatters. |
| 15. John Mildeberger. | 50. David Grim, merchant. |
| 17. James Duane, mayor. | 69. Dr. John Gamage. |

Other residents whose street numbers are not given in the directory, were Egbert Benson, on the corner of Pine Street; Peter Ogilvie, probate judge, on the corner of John Street; and Dr. Nicholas Romaine, on the corner of John Street.

Broad Street was occupied by small shops, and a few residences, among which were those of Dr. Samuel Fleming, at No. 10; Thomas Ludlow, No. 40; Dr. Samuel Bard, No. 45; Alderman Jeremiah Wool, No. 49; and David Shakespeare, Chandler, at No. 61. In the middle of Broad Street between Water and Front Streets, stood the Merchants' Exchange, a brick building on arches, which had been erected in 1755. The building, however, was no longer used for its original purpose, and in September 1788, when the City Hall was appropriated to the use of the National Government, the Common Council decided to use the Exchange for the courts and the corporation. On the 7th of October 1788 it was ordered that the building be repaired "in the most economical manner," and it was apparently used by the courts during 1789, as,

on the 11th of December in that year, Bardin's long-room was obtained for a court-room, as the Exchange was needed for the coming meeting of the Legislature. The building was ordered to be torn down on the 11th of March 1799.

Of the cross streets below Wall Street, one was the Hebrew centre of the city. This was Mill or Duke Street, which extended in the form of an elbow from the east side of Broad Street south into Stone Street, but now forms a part of South William Street. Among its inhabitants were :

No.	No.
3. Widow Gomez.	11. Manuel Noah.
4. James Stewart, merchant.	12. Rynier Suydam.
5. Moses Gomez.	15. William Backhouse, merchant.
7. Haymen Levy, merchant.	19. Benjamin S. Judah, merchant.
Rev. Gershom Seixas.	26. David Fitzgerald, merchant.

Mill Street is also spoken of in the minutes of the Common Council as Jew Street, and although on the map in 1789 it is marked Duke Street, that name on the maps in some other years is applied to Stone Street east of Broad Street.

Beaver Street east of Broad Street was called Princess Street; but west of Broad Street it bore its present name, and at No. 4 lived John Watts, who, in 1792 removed to No. 2 Broadway. The streets below Beaver Street were Market Street; Stone Street, upon which at No. 5 lived Nicholas Cruger; and Wincom Street, which is now Bridge Street. Exchange Place was known as Verlittenberg Street. Pine and Cedar Streets were known respectively as King and Little Queen Streets until the year 1804. Among the residents on King Street were at No. 23, John Taylor, merchant; No. 26, Charles Thomson, secretary of Congress; and at No. 52, Comfort Sands, merchant. Liberty Street was called Crown Street, and at its North River end was a bath-house kept by Henry Ludlam, with warm and cold water of sufficient depth for both ladies and gentlemen. One of the best-known buildings on this street was the sugar-house on its south side, east of Nassau Street, and adjoining the Middle Dutch

Church. Built of stone, with five stories and a loft, pierced with three small windows on each floor in front, and five on the side, this structure remained for many years a monument to the sufferings of the American prisoners who had been inhumanely packed within its walls by the British.

Maiden Lane bore its present name, there being among its householders, at No. 23, Walter Heyer; No. 27, John Dewint; No. 33, John and Nicholas J. Roosevelt, merchants; and at No. 46, Alderman Lott.

John Street, east of Dutch Street, was called Goldenhill Street; and Fulton Street to the east of Broadway was known as Fair Street, and to the west, as Partition Street.

Ann Street was the same as at the present time, and Beekman's Swamp was the only place south of the Fresh Water where raw hides were allowed to be stored for more than twenty-four hours. A few of the residents on Beekman Street were:

No.	No.
5. William P. Smith, physician.	39. George Moorewood,
8. John and James Aymar,	merchant.
tobacconists.	40. William Cowenhoven, hatter.
22. Hubert V. Wagenen.	53. John Cosine, attorney.
25. Alderman Blagge.	64. Peter Bogert.
Cornelius J. Bogert, attorney.	John Jackson, merchant.
27. Henry Rogers, merchant.	71. John Blagge, flaxseed.

The present Spruce Street was called George Street, one of its householders, at No. 22, being Philip Rhineland. Frankfort Street bore its present name. At No. 21 King George Street, as the upper end of William Street was called, on the block above Frankfort Street resided William Rhineland, sugar boiler, in a two-story and attic dwelling-house, next door to which was the sugar house, four stories high, with a cellar and loft, and bearing the date 1763.

Gold Street was the same as at the present time, but Cliff Street ran only from John Street to Ferry Street. Vandewater Street bore its present name, and a street corresponding somewhat to the present Rose Street was called Prince Street. The dirtiest street in the city was apparently Ferry

Street, as on the 12th of August 1789 its inhabitants petitioned the Common Council that the sand and filth brought into the street by every heavy storm might be removed at public expense; but the Aldermen decided that the application was improper and that no such relief could be granted.

In December 1788 it was ordered that Chatham Street should be regulated from James to Division Street, and in July 1789, it was ordered that it be paved. But it seems to have been in a poor condition, for in August 1789 a committee of the Common Council recommended that the bank on its west side be cut down as much as possible without injury to the houses, in order to render the street more "uniform and convenient." At No. 5 Chatham Street were Peter and George Lorillard, tobacconists, and at No. 36 was the brewery of Appleby and Matlack. The present Baxter Street ran but one block north of Chatham Street and was known as Orange Street. Roosevelt, James, Oliver, and Catherine Streets, bore their present names, but the only two streets to the east of them, which had names, were called George and Charlotte Streets. The present East Broadway was called Harman Street, and, with the exception of Orchard and Grand Streets, none of the streets east of the Bowery and north of Division Street bore their present names. Chrystie, Forsyth, Eldridge and Allen Streets were known respectively as First, Second, Third, and Fourth Streets, this first attempt to give numbers to the streets having apparently been made about the year 1766. Hester Street, east of the Bowery, was called Eagle Street; Canal Street was Pump Street; and Bayard Street was Fishers Street.

The most important street in the city was Wall Street, which was the most fashionable place of residence, and in 1789 was the centre of the political life of the United States. The inhabitants of this street in 1789 were as follows, different houses evidently bearing the same street number :

No.	No.
2. John McPherson, store.	4. William Collett, coachmaker.
3. John Smith, farrier.	John Cransbaugh, grocer.
Daniel Crommelin Verplanck.	William Maxwell, tobacco.

No.		No.	
	John Stephens, livery stable.	36.	
5.	Johannah Van Burgh Ursin, boardinghouse.	37.	
	Samuel A. Otis, secretary U. S. Senate.	38.	Francis Panton, haberdasher.
6.	Daniel Ludlow.	39.	Daniel McCormick, merchant.
7.	William Edgar, merchant.	40.	Mrs. Sheldon, boarding house.
8.	William Bedlow, postmaster.	41.	John Wilkes, notary public.
9.	Thomas Smith, attorney.	42.	Richard Kipp, upholsterer.
10.	William Denny.	43.	Robert Reley.
11.	John Startin.	44.	John Lamb, collector of the port.
12.	John Marsden Pintard.	45.	Abijah Hammond, merchant.
13.	John Lawrence, attorney.	46.	Joseph Lepine, grocer.
14.	John Jones, merchant.	47.	Ludlow & Goold, merchants.
15.	Mrs. Mary Daubigny, boarding house.	48.	Edward Goold, merchant.
16.	John Miller, Merchant.	49.	Christopher Baehr, tailor.
17.		50.	Mrs. White.
18.	Mrs. Cuyler, boarding house.	51.	
19.	Joshua Jones, grocer.	52.	Richard Varick, attorney general.
20.	Richard Cusack, hatter.	53.	
	Robert Hunter, auctioneer.	54.	E. Seaman, merchant.
21.	Isaac Moses, auctioneer.	55.	Joseph Corre, confectioner.
22.	Smith and Bradford, auctioneers.	56.	James Jauncey. John Jauncey. Gabriel W. Ludlow, merchant.
23.	James Smith, auctioneer.	57.	
24.		58.	Alexander Hamilton, attorney.
25.	Robert Lylburne, merchant.	59.	Francis Mallaby. Adam Prior, confectioner.
26.	Thomas Buchanan, merchant. Francis Giffin, porterhouse.	60.	William Irvin, commissioner of accounts.
27.	Robert Sanders, cooper.		Jonathan Burrell.
28.	William Vandrill, tavern.	61.	Sadler Heyer.
29.	William Allen, shop.	62.	Hugh Ross, tavern. Joseph Mitchell, shoemaker.
30.		63.	Joseph Corre, boarding house.
31.	John Anderson, auctioneer. Henry Hannah, shoemaker. Neal McKinnon, grocer.	64.	James Culbertson, high constable.
32.	Thomas Biggs, mathematical instruments.	65.	S. L. Clark, grocer.
33.	William Matthews, tailor.	66.	William Cock, attorney. John J. Morgan, attorney.
34.	Thomas Wainslow, perukes.	67.	George Turnbull.
35.			

The Verplanck residence was next door to Federal Hall; No. 5 was on the northwest corner of Wall and William Streets, having a frontage of fifty feet on the former street; No. 20 was on one of the corners of Water Street; and No. 32 was near the Coffee House which stood on the corner of Water Street. Two of the most noted residences in Wall Street were that of John Lamb next to the northeast corner of William Street and that known as the McEvers mansion, afterwards occupied by the Bank of New York, on that corner. The boarding house of Mrs. Daubigny at No. 15 was one of the best in the city and in 1789 was patronized by Richard Basset and George Reed of Delaware, Benjamin Contee, Joshua Seney, and Michael G. Stone of Maryland, and by Richard B. Lee and Andrew Moore of Virginia. A number of Congressmen also boarded at a tavern kept by Michael Huck on one of the corners of Wall and William Streets. The remains of the statue of William Pitt which had been erected in the middle of Wall Street at its junction with William Street had been removed by order of the Common Council in July 1788, and are now to be found in the collection of the N. Y. Historical Society. The value of real estate on Wall Street in 1789 may be judged by the sale for £1800 of two lots on the south side of the street near Pearl Street, being about 57 feet front and rear by 106 feet on one side and 135 feet on the other.

The most pretentious building in the city was Federal Hall, on the northeast corner of Wall and Nassau Streets, and extending somewhat into the latter. The first City Hall or Stadt Haus was erected by the Dutch in 1642 on Pearl Street facing Coenties Slip and was sold at auction in August 1699, a new Hall situated on the northeast corner of Wall and Nassau Streets being completed in 1700 at a cost of £1151. Here were held the meetings of the Common Council, Provincial Assembly and the Courts, and in 1785 the building was occupied by Congress, the ground floor containing a prison, watch-room, and engine-house. In August 1788 it was reported to the Common Council that the copper roof of the building was so leaky that it should be replaced by cedar

shingles and an offer by James Robinson to do this work for £35 was accepted; but a more complete change in the building was soon decided upon. On the 17th of September 1788 the Common Council resolved to appropriate the whole of the City Hall to the use of the General Government and aldermen Gilbert and Willet and assistant alderman Janeway were appointed to confer on the subject with the congressmen from New York and to report the result to the board. On the 30th of September 1788 this committee reported that it had secured a satisfactory plan for the alteration of the building from Major L'Enfant; that a number of citizens offered to advance money for the purpose, trusting to future legislation for reimbursement, and that they had appointed Robert Watts, Alexander Macomb, Major L'Enfant, James Nicholson and William Maxwell commissioners to purchase material and superintend the work. The board approved this report: "So that no charge be made upon this Corporation for any part of the expense." The Corporation credit, however, was very soon used for the repair of the building, as on the 3rd of December 1788, the Bank loaned £1000 on its note payable in twelve months, the work on the building having been begun on the 6th of October. On the 7th of January 1789 the Common Council petitioned the Legislature to authorize a tax of £13000 to be raised in the city for the erection of the Hall and to indemnify John Jay and other citizens who had given their notes to the Bank for that purpose, and, on the 9th of January 1789, an act was passed in accordance with the petition, although a lottery had been at first proposed as a means of raising the money. By the 1st of April 1789 the Corporation had given notes to the Bank to the amount of £6000 and on that day it was resolved to request the Bank to advance the further sum of £2600 3s. 10d. in paper and to liquidate that and former loans in specie at an advance of eight per cent. and to take the bond of the Corporation for £9000 payable in twelve months in gold or silver with interest at seven per cent. On the 13th of April, however, the Commissioners reported that the amount raised by this bond would not be sufficient to finish the Hall and £2000 more were

borrowed, but, on the 27th of April, the Common Council resolved that the city credit had been extended as far as was justifiable, that no more money be advanced, and that the Commissioners be requested to act accordingly. But subsequent pressure led to the appointment of a committee of Aldermen on the 17th of May to inspect Federal Hall and to ascertain the expense of completing it, and in pursuance of its report, made on the 18th of June, the Bank was requested to advance £2000 more, it being believed that the building could be completed for that amount. The Bank refused to loan more than £1000, and on the 24th of June the Common Council requested the Commissioners to submit their accounts to the City Chamberlain and appointed Mr. Nicholson to endeavor to raise £1200 on the city credit to complete the building. This amount, however, was apparently not sufficient for that purpose as on the 30th of July the Mayor was instructed to apply towards its painting and completion a balance which Mr. Nicholson had on hand from the sale of stone which had been brought from the Battery for the building of the Hall and had not been used. The State Government laid claim to this money but it was finally appropriated to building purposes. On the 9th of September 1789 the Chamberlain was instructed to pay the Bank from time to time sums from the tax then being collected and on the 1st of January 1790 the Corporation's indebtedness to the Bank had been paid with the exception of £1502 4s. 11d., for which a bond was given. In March 1789 the Corporation also purchased from Mr. Verplanck, for £434 13s., the lot on the east side of Federal Hall, for the enlargement of the premises on that side; it was compelled to build a new engine-house, for which work Isaac Meade received £25; and in September it purchased for £450 a small house on the southeast corner of Wall and Broad Streets to accommodate the watchmen who had been deprived of their former quarters. The tax of £13000 which had been authorized, netted £12433 when the collectors' fees had been deducted, but this was only half the cost of the building. Early in 1790 the Corporation informed the Legislature that the £13000 raised by tax had already been

expended, and that the city was also indebted to the amount of £13000 more for the alterations made in the City-Hall. Relief was accordingly afforded by an Act passed on the 18th of February 1790 authorizing the City to raise £13000 by one or more lotteries for the payment of this indebtedness. By the first lottery it was decided to raise £7500 by the sale of 25000 tickets at 40s. each, the largest prize to be £3000. The drawing began on the 5th of August 1790 and lasted until the 4th of September, the capital prize being drawn by a ticket held by two young girls and "purchased with savings from their laboriously earned pittance." The second lottery consisted of 23000 tickets at 40s. each, 7676 of which were to draw prizes, and, after two postponements, the drawing began on the 2nd of May 1791 and lasted for twenty-three days. The new Federal Hall thus apparently cost about £26000 or \$65000, exclusive of the interest paid on notes and bonds.

The work of building was begun on the 6th of October 1788 and by the 7th of December the structure was under cover. At that time the Postmaster General wrote that he supposed it to be the largest and most elegant building on the continent. Much of the old brick City Hall remained, but some new walls were built and the interior was changed and decorated with an elegance theretofore unknown in America. On the 6th of February 1789 it was announced that the eagle on the pediment of the front of the building would be displayed that day, and that the ceremony would be attended by the Troop of Horse, Company of Light Infantry, and Company of Grenadiers. This event, however, did not occur at that time, and was apparently postponed until the early part of April. On the 3rd of March 1789 the Recorder was instructed by the Common Council to officially offer the use of the building to Congress, and at the same time the suggestion was made that Congress should appoint Rynier Skaats keeper of the building. But after this offer, written by the Mayor, had been read in the United States Senate on the 6th of April, the suggestion regarding Mr. Skaats was politely declined until such an office was created, and the Common

Council was informed, in a reply of thanks on the 14th of April, that in the meantime it could employ whom it pleased to take care of the building. Mr. Skaats was accordingly installed as keeper in two rooms at the southwest corner of the ground floor, one of the windows being made into a door; and the premises seem to have been a healthy residence, as Mr. Skaats did not leave this world until September 1814, when he had reached the age of 82 years. The rest of the building was entirely occupied by the Federal Government with the exception of the uppermost room in its southeast part, which was granted by the Common Council to the Society Library, on the 7th of January 1789, provided that it were not required for the use of the government. When the first Congress of the United States met in the building on the 4th of March 1789 the only room which was completed was the Senate Chamber, the Representatives meeting in a small room adjoining it which was fit for use. The doors of the Representatives Chamber were not thrown open to the public until the 8th of April, and it was a number of months later before all the finishing touches were put upon the building. On the 9th of May, a committee of the Senate was appointed to confer with a committee of the House as to the appropriation of the rooms. The Assembly Chamber in the old City Hall had been adorned with a portrait of Columbus; life-size portraits of the King and Queen of France, presented by them to Congress; a portrait of Washington, presented by a gentleman in England; and portraits of several of the heroes of the Revolution. These probably remained in the new Federal Hall, the portrait of Columbus being transferred to the Capitol at Albany in 1827.

The contemporary description of the building, which appeared in the magazines of the time, was as follows: "The basement story is Tuscan, and is pierced with seven openings; four massy pillars in the centre support four Doric columns and a pediment. The freeze is ingeniously divided to admit thirteen stars in the metopes; these with the American Eagle and other insignia in the pediment, and the tablets over the windows, filled with the thirteen arrows and the

olive branch united, mark it as a building set apart for national purposes. After entering from Broad Street, we find a plainly-finished square room, flagged with stone, and to which the citizens have free access; from this we enter the vestibule in the centre of the pile, which leads in front to the floor of the Representatives' room, or real Federal Hall, and, through two arches on each side, by a public staircase on the left, and by a private one on the right, to the Senate Chamber and lobbies. This vestibule is paved with marble; is very lofty and well-finished; the lower part is of a light rustic, which supports an handsome iron gallery; the upper half is in a lighter stile and is finished with a skylight of about 12 by 18 feet, which is decorated with a profusion of ornaments in the richest taste. Passing into the Representatives' room, we find a spacious and elegant apartment, sixty-one feet deep, fifty-eight wide and thirty-six high, without including an alcoved ceiling of about ten feet high. This room is of an octangular form; four of its sides are rounded in the manner of niches and give a graceful variety to the whole. The windows are large, and placed sixteen feet from the floor; all below them is finished with plain wainscott, interrupted only by four chimnies; but above these, a number of Ionic columns and pilasters, with their proper entablature, are very judiciously disposed and give great elegance. In the panels between the windows are trophies carved, and the letters U. S. in a cipher surrounded with laurel. The speaker's chair is opposite the great door, and raised by several steps; the chairs for the members are ranged semi-circularly in two rows in front of the Speaker. Each member has his separate chair and desk. There are two galleries which front the speaker; that below, projects fifteen feet; the upper one is not so large and is intended to be at the disposal of the members for the accomodation of their friends. Besides these galleries, there is a space on the floor, confined by a bar, where the public are admitted. There are three small doors for common use, besides the great one in the front. The curtains and chairs in this room are of light blue damask. It is intended to place a statue of Liberty over the Speaker's chair,

and trophies upon each chimney. After ascending the stairs on the left of the vestibule, we reach a lobby of 19×48 feet, finished with Tuscan pilasters; this communicates with the iron gallery before mentioned, and leads at one end to the galleries of the Representatives' room, and at the other to the Senate Chamber. This room is 40 feet long, 30 wide and 20 high with an arched ceiling; it has three windows in front, and three back, to correspond to them; those in front, open into a gallery 12 feet deep guarded with an elegant iron railing. In this gallery, our illustrious PRESIDENT, attended by the Senate and the House of Representatives, took his oath of office, in the face of Heaven, and in presence of a large concourse of people assembled in front of the building. The Senate Chamber is decorated with pilasters etc., which are not of any regular order; the proportions are light and graceful; the capitals are of a fanciful kind, the invention of Major L'Enfant, the architect; he has appropriated them to this building, for amidst their foliage appears a star and rays; and a piece of drapery below suspends a small medallion with U. S. in a cipher. The idea is new and the effect pleasing; and although they cannot be said to be of any ancient order, we must allow that they have an appearance of magnificence. The ceiling is plain, with only a sun and thirteen stars in the centre. The marble which is used in the chimnies is American, and for beauties of shades and polish, is equal to any of its kind in Europe. The President's chair is at one end of the room, elevated about three feet from the floor, under a rich canopy of crimson damask. The arms of the Union are to be placed over it. The chairs of the members are arranged semicircularly as those in the Representatives' room. The floor is covered with a handsome carpet and the windows are furnished with curtains of crimson damask. Besides these rooms, there are several others for use and convenience; a library, lobbies, and committee-rooms above, and guard-rooms below. On one side is a platform, level with the floor of the Senate Chamber, which forms a convenient walk for the members, of more than two hundred feet long, and is guarded by an iron railing. We cannot close our description without

observing that great praise is due to Major L'Enfant, the architect, who has surmounted many difficulties, and has so accomodated the additions to the old parts, and so judiciously altered what he saw wrong, that he has produced a building uniform and consistent throughout, and has added to great elegance, every convenience that could be desired."

The architect of Federal Hall was Major Peter Charles L'Enfant who was born in France in 1755 and came to America and joined the Continental army in 1777. He became a captain in February 1778, was severely wounded at the siege of Savannah in 1779, and received the rank of major in May 1783. On the 12th of October 1789 the Common Council resolved that he should be presented with the thanks of the Corporation, the freedom of the city, and ten acres of the Common Lands for his services in erecting Federal Hall, and on the 30th of December it was decided that the land should be ten acres of Provoost's land on the Post Road adjoining the north line of John Hardenbrook's land, its present situation being on the east side of Third Avenue between 68th and 69th Streets. On the 11th of May 1790, however, Major L'Enfant declined the gift of land and in 1801 petitioned for a sum of money in its stead but again declined the sum of \$750 which was offered him. He was also the designer of the medal of the Society of the Cincinnati, and author of the original plan for the City of Washington. In 1812 he declined the Professorship of Engineering at West Point, and died on the 14th of January 1825 in Prince George Co. Maryland. During the construction of Federal Hall he does not seem to have added to his popularity among the mechanics of the city as, on the 26th of March 1789, a card appeared in the N. Y. Journal complaining that the work of upholstering the Hall had been given by him to a "menial servant" of the French ambassador without regard to a petition for the job presented by some city decorators. Such "truckling to foreigners" was roundly denounced by the disappointed upholsterers. The mason-work upon the building was done by James Robinson and the carpenter-work by one

Smith. Opinions differed with regard to the beauty of the building. The Gazette of the United States pronounced it to be "on the whole superior to any building in America," and also announced that the general appearance of the front of it was "truly august." The Anti-Federalists, however, were eager to express their contempt for it, and everything connected with it, and when the building was decorated on the 4th of March 1789 in honor of the beginning of the new Constitution they declared that the flag raised consisted of the French colors over the Federal standard, the truth being that the flag had belonged to the "Federal Ship Hamilton" and that the paint had been washed off of it by a heavy shower during the Federal Procession in July 1788. A southern member of this disappointed and embittered faction wrote from New York to friends in Philadelphia on the 12th of February 1789: "I wish that you or either of you was in this town for a few hours if it were only to view the *Old New Building* nicknamed *Federal Hall* and by others who are ill-natured called *Fool's Trap*. . . Verily I believe that it is expected that this medley of a house will induce us to forget that wrong is not right and that two and two are just equal to four." The fact that it had to be paid for by a lottery also afforded an opportunity for sneers on the part of the Anti-Federalists and in July 1790 when a portrait of Washington had been ordered to be painted by Trumbull at an expense of 100 guineas, "A Burgher whose eyes are open" inserted the following in the N. Y. Journal: "Is it prudent in a city which is reduced to pay its debts by lottery, to incur the superfluous expences of *disinterested* flattery? Is this canvass compliment to be discharged by a Picture Lottery and entrusted to *responsible* and *respectible* commissioners? If the expenses of this *disinterested* compliment are to be discharged by assessments will the citizens deluded by Federal tricks and oppressed by Federal burdens cheerfully submit to a Picture Tax!" The building had little about it to commend it to the architectural taste of the present day, but the fact that the place of Washington's inauguration and of the meeting of the first Congress under the present Constitution was allowed

to fall into decay and to be torn down within the short space of twenty-two years, cannot be too deeply regretted. Congress met in it for the first time on the 4th of March 1789, and occupied it for two sessions, when, upon the removal of the Federal Government to Philadelphia, it became the City Hall and place of meeting of the Courts and Legislature, the latter body using it until 1797. In May 1800 the building of a new City Hall was proposed in the Common Council and the corner stone of the present building was laid by Mayor Edward Livingston, assisted by Mr. M'Comb the architect, at six o'clock in the evening of May 26th 1803. This stone was laid at the southeast corner of the building and the whole structure was completed in 1812. There then being no further use for the old building, it was ordered to be sold, and on the 6th of May 1812 Bleecker and Bibby, auctioneers, announced that on the 13th of May 1812, at twelve o'clock, at the Old City Hall they would sell at auction "Four lots of Ground fronting on Wall Street on which the Hall stands and adjacent thereto," and "The Old City Hall which is to be removed by the purchaser previous to the 15th of July next." The account of the sale given in the Commercial Advertiser of May 14th 1812 was as follows: "The Old City Hall. This building was sold at auction yesterday for 425 dollars and one of the lots on which it now stands for \$9,500. The sale of the remaining lots was postponed. It is to be hoped that the building is not to be left many days in its present, tattered state." Nor was it left many days. On the back of an old engraving of the building, in the possession of the New York Historical Society, is inscribed: "Presented to the New York Historical Society by John Pintard on the 15th May 1812, the day in which this Building was prostrated, the materials having been sold at auction to Mr. Jinings for four hundred and twenty-five dollars." The purchaser was apparently Mr. Jonathan Jinings of the firm of Jinings and Mills, grocers, at No. 30 Peck Slip. Thus disappeared the building of the greatest historical interest in New York City. The four lots of which the premises consisted are numbered 1, 2, 3, and 4 on the map accompanying

the deeds of the property, number one being on the corner of Nassau Street. Their dimensions were respectively 25 ft. 6 in., 23 ft., 26 ft. 6 in., and 27 ft., front and rear, by 112 feet in length, with a right of way over an alley ten feet wide in the rear. Lot number one was sold on the 13th of May 1812 for \$9,500 to Joel Post and John B. Lawrence, druggists, who conveyed it on the 29th of January 1813 for \$12000 to James Eastburn, Thomas Kirk, and John Downes. The sale of the other three lots took place on the 28th of January 1813, number two being conveyed to Kirk, Eastburn, and Downes for \$8433.33, number three to Garrit Storm for \$8566.66, and number four to George Griswold for \$8499.99. The premises were 102 feet wide on Wall Street but Federal Hall probably occupied but three of the lots having a frontage of 75 feet. The appearance of the property was completely changed by the 3rd of December 1813 as on the morning of that day a nearly completed new brick building erected on lots numbers one and two by Eastburn and Kirk, booksellers, was badly damaged by fire. That firm, however, had moved into this new building in February 1814, and held the property until the 2nd of December 1816 when they sold it to the United States Government for \$75000, subject to two mortgages aggregating \$35000, to be used as a custom-house. Garrit Storm, in April 1825, conveyed Lot No. 3 to the Delaware and Hudson Canal Co. for \$29000, and that Company, in December 1832, conveyed it to the United States Government for \$47000. The present Sub-Treasury building which now occupies these and other lots was begun in May 1834 and finished in May 1841.

Many of the residences in the suburbs of the city had been ruined during the Revolution and but few of them were sufficiently near to the closely inhabited portion of the city to appear on the city map of 1789. One of these country seats was that of Mr. Rutgers, running back from Cherry Street to the present Henry Street, and bounded on the west by the present Pike Street and on the east by the present Clinton Street. The house itself did not entirely disappear until 1875. To the east of this on the bank of the East River was the

residence of Mr. Byvanck, and to the north, on Grand Street near the present Clinton Street, was that of Mr. Jones. The most highly cultivated country place near the city was that of Baron Frederick Charles Hans Bruno Poelnitz, comprising $22\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land situated on the present Broadway between Eighth and Tenth Streets, the rear porch of the house being destroyed by the cutting through of Broadway. This place had been purchased in 1766 by Lieut. Governor Elliot and by him was called "Minto," and in 1789 was devoted to fancy farming by Baron Poelnitz, who offered it for sale in that year. The advertisement of it stated that it was about two miles from the city and abounded with a greater variety of the choicest fruit trees and flowering shrubs than perhaps any other place in the state, while it possessed the richest soil of any estate on Manhattan Island. In 1790 it was sold to Robert R. Randall for £5000 and by his will in 1801 it was devoted to the purposes of the Sailors' Snug Harbor. On the west side of the city near the present Laight and Hudson Streets was the property of Mr. Lispenard, and on the south east corner of Varick and Charlton Streets was the Richmond Hill Mansion, occupied in 1789 by Vice-President Adams and afterwards the residence of Aaron Burr. Of this place Mrs. Adams wrote in 1790: "The venerable oaks and broken ground, covered with wild shrubs, which surround me, give a natural beauty to the spot which is truly enchanting. A lovely variety of birds serenade me morning and evening, rejoicing in their liberty and security, for I have, as much as possible, prohibited the grounds from invasion, and sometimes almost wished for game laws, when my orders have not been sufficiently regarded. The partridge, the woodcock, and the pigeon are too great temptations to the sportsmen to withstand." The cultivated shrubs which were sold in 1789 included shaddock, citron, lemon, olive, lime and green bay trees; large alotis, large myrtle, box leaf, small myrtle, tea plant, pomegranate, creeping ceres, Arabian jasmine, balm of Gilead, rosemary, and lavender; common, striped, and partridge breast aloe, passion flower, oleander, polyanthus, auricula, and carnation pink. William Prince offered for sale, at

Flushing Landing, fruit trees for 1s. 6d. each, and a great variety of roses and plants; but when Washington visited this nursery on the 10th of October 1789 he expressed his disappointment at all that he saw with the exception of the young fruit trees, the shrubs being trifling and the flowers few in number.

II.

CITY GOVERNMENT.—MILITIA.—POLITICS.

IN 1789 the city had its corporate existence by virtue of the Dongan charter of 1686, a confirmatory Act of 1708, the Montgomerie charter of 1730, and the State Constitution of 1777. The city government consisted of a Mayor, Recorder, seven Aldermen, and seven Assistant Aldermen. The supreme appointing power in the State was lodged in the Council of Appointment which consisted of the Governor and four State Senators, chosen from the Senate by the Legislature, one from each of the four senatorial districts of the State. In 1789 none of these four Senators resided in New York City. The Mayor, Sheriff, and Coroner were appointed annually by the Council of Appointment until its abolition in 1821. The Recorder was appointed by the Council at its pleasure. In 1831 he ceased to have a voice in the city government and in 1834 the Mayor was first elected by the people. The Aldermen and Assistant Aldermen were elected by the people, the voters, by an Act passed February 23rd 1787, being required to be twenty-one years of age, and freemen of the city for three months and residents of the ward in which they voted for one month before the election. There was also a property qualification requiring them to be freeholders in their own or their wives' right in lands or tenements to the value of £20 over and above all debts charged thereon, situated in the ward in which they voted, and in their possession for one month before the election unless acquired by descent or devise. Persons owning property on the east side of Broadway were to vote in the West Ward, even if their property extended into the North Ward. The election for city officers took place on the 29th of September, inspectors of election

for each ward being appointed by the Common Council a week before the election. The Aldermen and Assistants who were in office from September 29th 1788 to the same date in 1789 were:

<i>Aldermen.</i>	<i>Ward.</i>	<i>Assistants.</i>
JEREMIAH WOOL.	South.	JOSEPH PIERSON.
PETER ELTING.	Dock.	WINANT VAN ZANDT.
JOHN LAWRENCE.	East.	JAMES NICHOLSON.
WM. W. GILBERT.	West.	ABRAHAM VAN GELDER.
JOHN WYLLEY.	North.	GEORGE JANEWAY.
BENJAMIN BLAGGE.	Montgomerie.	TOBIAS VAN ZANDT.
NICHOLAS BAYARD.	Out.	JOHN QUACKENBOSS.

Of these Benjamin Blagge was the most experienced, having been an Alderman since 1766. Those elected on the 29th of September 1789 were:

<i>Aldermen.</i>	<i>Ward.</i>	<i>Assistants.</i>
JEREMIAH WOOL.	South.	JOHN VAN DYCK.
WINANT VAN ZANT.	Dock.	PETER T. CURTENIUS.
DANIEL MCCORMICK.	East.	JOHN PINTARD.
ISAAC STOUTENBURG.	West.	WM. T. ELSWORTH.
JOHN WYLLEY.	North.	GEORGE JANEWAY.
THEOPHILUS BEEKMAN.	Montgomerie.	TOBIAS VAN ZANDT.
NICHOLAS BAYARD.	Out.	STEPHEN MCCREA.

Of these Nicholas Bayard served the longest term being elected continuously from 1785 until 1797. The City Clerk from 1784 to 1801 was Robert Benson, whose office in 1789 was at No. 22 Maiden Lane. By a city ordinance of March 16th 1784 the city seal, the seal of the mayor's court, and the seal of mayoralty had been changed by defacing the imperial crown and placing in its stead the crest of the Arms of the State of New York,—a semiglobe with a soaring eagle thereon. On the 8th of December 1683 the city had been divided into six wards, and the boundaries of the seventh, the Montgomerie Ward, had been defined by the charter of 1730. In 1789 the South Ward was bounded by a line along the centre of Broad Street from the East River to the centre of Wall Street, thence running west to New Street, down New Street

to Beaver, and thence nearly west to the North River. The Dock Ward was bounded by Broad, Wall, Smith (William) Streets, and the East River. The East Ward was bounded by a line running from Old Slip along Smith and William Streets to John Street and down John Street to Burling Slip. Montgomerie Ward was very irregular in shape. Its boundary line ran from Burling Slip to the junction of John and William Streets, along William Street to Frankfort, thence through the blocks to the south end of the Fresh Water, thence east to the Junction of Chatham and Roosevelt Streets, down Roosevelt Street to Cherry, along Cherry Street one block to James Street and down the latter to New Slip. The North Ward was bounded on the east by William Street from Wall to Frankfort Street and a line from the latter street to the south end of the Fresh Water, whence its line ran almost due north to Broadway, thence south, parallel with Broadway and in the rear of the houses on its east side, to Wall Street, and along it to William Street. The West Ward included the portion of the city north of the line of Beaver Street and west of Broadway and the North Ward. The Out Ward lay to the east of Broadway and included the rest of the island north of the Montgomerie and North Wards, being divided into the Bowery and Harlem Divisions. By an Act of February 28th 1791, the boundaries of the wards were somewhat changed and they were designated by the numbers one to seven. According to the census of 1790 Montgomerie Ward was the most thickly populated ward in the city, containing 6271 inhabitants. It also seems to have contained the greatest number of poor people, for in January 1789, when the Aldermen distributed £100 among the poor, the largest share, which was £20, was to be given to this ward, while the smallest shares of £8 each were to be given to the Dock and East Wards. The East Ward contained the wealthiest inhabitants, the tax of £5784 5s. 10d. upon it in 1789 being larger than that upon any other ward. During the year the taxes upon the city were that granted on the 22nd of January of £13000 for the building of Federal Hall, and another, granted on the 2nd of February, of £6000 for the maintenance of the poor, the

Bridewell, roads, and improvement of the streets, and of £4000 for the payment of watchmen and the care of the lamps.

The Mayor of the city from 1783 until September 1789 was James Duane, son of Anthony Duane and Altea Kettletas. Mr. Duane was born in New York City on the 6th of February 1733 and studied law with James Alexander, one of the most prominent lawyers in the colony. In 1789 he was one of the oldest city practitioners in the Supreme Court, having been admitted to practice in that court on the 3rd of August 1754. During the Revolution he was an active patriot, being a member of the first Continental Congress in 1774, and also from 1780 to 1782, and a member of the New York Provincial Convention of 1776 and 1777. He left the city in June 1776 and did not return until November 1783, being appointed its mayor on the 5th of February 1784. He was also a State Senator from 1783 until 1790, except in the years 1786 and 1787, and a member of the Constitutional Convention at Poughkeepsie in 1788 in which he was a strong supporter of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. He occupied the mayoralty until September 1789 when he was appointed the first Judge of the United States District Court in New York. He resigned this office on the 8th of April 1794 and at the same time retired from the wardenship of Trinity Church which he had held for ten years. He then retired to Schenectady and died at Duanesburgh on the first of February 1796. The Mayor's salary was derived from fees which during the last year of Mr. Duane's incumbency amounted to about £800, but the amount varied in different years, and in December 1789 Mr. Varick, his successor, agreed to take a fixed salary of £600 a year.

The Recorder of the city from 1783 until 1789 was Richard Varick who was born at Hackensack, N. J., on the 25th of March 1753. Before the Revolution he became a lawyer in New York City, and during the war attained to the rank of colonel, acting at times as the military secretary of Gen. Schuyler and the recording secretary of Gen. Washington. At the close of the war he was appointed Recorder, he was a member of assembly in 1787 and 1788, and in June 1789 was

appointed Attorney General of the State, but in September of that year succeeded Mr. Duane as Mayor, Samuel Jones being appointed Recorder and Aaron Burr Attorney General. Mr. Varick occupied the Mayoralty until 1801 and died in Jersey City on the 30th of July 1831. Mr. Jones continued to be Recorder until 1796. The Sheriff of the city was Robert Boyd, who held that office from 1787 until 1791. The City Chamberlain chosen by the Mayor, four or more Aldermen and four or more Assistant Aldermen, was Daniel Phoenix, who held that office from 1784 until 1809. Mr. Phoenix was born in the city in 1742 and, entering into business early in life, was for many years one of the most prominent merchants of New York. He was one of the Sons of Liberty and a patriot during the Revolution. He was a member of the Chamber of Commerce from 1770 until 1812; a trustee and manager of the financial affairs of the Wall Street Presbyterian Church from 1772 until 1812; a Governor of the N. Y. Hospital, and trustee and treasurer of the Society Library. He was also an alderman in 1783 and 1784. He died in 1812.

The courts which sat in New York in 1789 were the Court of Chancery, the Supreme Court of Judicature, the Mayor's Court, the Court of Sessions, the Court of Probates, the Court of Admiralty, and the United States District Court. Robert R. Livingston, the Chancellor, was appointed to that office by the State Convention on the 5th of May 1777 and received his commission on the 17th of October in the same year. He was born in New York on the 27th of November 1747, graduated from King's College in 1765, admitted to the bar in October 1773, and soon afterwards appointed Recorder of the city, but was removed from that office in 1775, because of his patriotism. He was one of the committee who prepared the Declaration of Independence, and was one of the framers of the N. Y. State Constitution of 1777. In October of that year he received the thanks of the New York Convention for his faithful services in the Continental Congress, and from 1781 to 1783 was Secretary of Foreign Affairs. He declined the office of Minister to France in 1794, but resigned the Chancellorship in 1801 to accept it, remaining in France until

1805. He died on the 26th of February 1813. One of his biographers states that he was "tall and well-proportioned; of imposing presence, easy and pleasant in discourse, and in manner graceful and courteous. His private life was imbued with pure morals and true piety, as his public had been with integrity and patriotism. He was generous to the poor, disinterested in his friendship, and honorable in his intercourse with his fellowmen." The business of the Court of Chancery was very small, and was chiefly conducted at the Chancellor's house, No. 3 Broadway. The salary of the Chancellor was £500 a year. In 1789 the Masters in Chancery residing in the city were John Ray and James M. Hughes; the Register was William Cock, and the Examiner was Edward Dunscomb. The Court of Chancery ceased to exist on the first Monday in July 1847.

The Supreme Court of Judicature was established in 1691 and in 1789 consisted of a Chief Justice and two Judges who, by the Constitution of 1777, were to hold office during good behavior until the age of sixty years. By an Act passed April 7th 1785 the sessions of this court in New York City were to be held on the third Tuesday of January and April, the January session to last until the Saturday of the next week, and the April session until the end of the Saturday in the third week following. The Clerk's Office was to be in New York. By Act of February 22nd 1788 the Court of Oyer and Terminer, consisting of any member of the Supreme Court together with the Mayor, Recorder and Aldermen, or any three of them, was to be opened for criminal business at the same time as the Circuit Court, and to continue until its business was dispatched. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in 1789 was Richard Morris who was appointed to that office on the 23rd of October 1779 and held it until his retirement at the age of sixty in September 1790. He was born in Morrisania on the 15th of August 1730, graduated from Yale College in 1748, and admitted to the bar on the 29th of April 1752. From 1762 until 1775 he was Judge of Vice-Admiralty but resigned through patriotic motives. From 1777 to 1779 he was a State Senator. He retired to Westchester County

in September 1790 and died at Scarsdale on the 11th of April 1810. In 1789 he resided at No. 27 Nassau Street. The Associate Judges of the Supreme Court in 1789 were Robert Yates of Albany and John Sloss Hobart of New York. Judge Yates was born in Schenectady on the 27th of January 1738 and was admitted to the bar on the 9th of May 1760. He was a prominent member of the Albany Committee of Safety during the Revolution, a member of the Provincial Congress, and of the State Convention which framed the State Constitution of 1777. He was also a member of the Convention which framed the U. S. Constitution, but opposed it and withdrew from the Convention in July 1786. He was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court on the 8th of May 1777, received his commission in the following October, and remained on the bench until his sixtieth year in January 1798, having become Chief Justice in September 1790. He died in Albany on the 9th of September 1801. John Sloss Hobart was born in Fairfield, Conn., in February 1738, and was graduated from Yale College in 1757. In 1765 he appeared as a Son of Liberty in New York, and in 1775 and 1776 was a deputy from Suffolk County to the Provincial Congress. He was a member of the committee which drew the first State Constitution and a member of the Poughkeepsie Convention in 1788. He was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court in May 1777, commissioned in the following October, and resigned the office at the age of sixty years in February 1798. In the same year he became United States Senator but resigned in 1799 upon being appointed U. S. District Court Judge. He died in New York on the 4th of February 1805. The salary of all the Supreme Court judges was £500 a year. The Clerk of the Supreme Court was John McKesson, his residence in 1789 being at No. 44 Broadway. The Supreme Court of Judicature was somewhat changed in 1821 and was abolished in 1846.

The Mayor's Court was the oldest court in the city, having its origin in the time of the Dutch supremacy in New York, and under the management of Mayor Duane it had become the most highly esteemed court in the city. By an

Act passed February 5th 1787, its terms were to last for three days, and it was empowered to hear all actions, real, personal and mixed, arising in the city and county. It was constituted of the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen, or any three of them, of whom the Mayor or Recorder should always be one. The Court of General Sessions, composed of the same persons, was held on the first Tuesdays in February, May, August, and November, its sitting lasting until the following Tuesday. The number of indictments upon which trial was had in the Courts of Oyer and Terminer and General Sessions during the year 1789 was 103, seventeen for forgery and fourteen for grand larceny, being the largest numbers for any one offence.

The Court of Probates held original jurisdiction in cases of decease out of the State or of decease of non-residents within the State and appellate jurisdiction over the surrogates. Its judge, from 1787 to 1799 was Peter Ogilvie, who in May 1789 removed his office to No. 24 John Street. By Act of March 16th 1778 such judges were to have the same powers as had been exercised by the colonial governors in the matter of probate, except as to the appointment of surrogates, who in the future were to be appointed by the Council of Appointment. The court was abolished by act of March 21st 1823 and its jurisdiction conferred upon the Chancellor. The Surrogate, who from 1787 to 1801 was David Gelston, had full power in the matter of the wills of citizens dying within the State. Mr. Gelston, who held several important offices at various times, died on the 21st of August 1828, at the age of 85 years.

The Judge of the Court of Admiralty was Lewis Graham, who had been appointed to that office in August 1776, received his commission on the 17th of February 1778, and held it until the court ceased to exist when the U.S. Constitution came into effect. He died at Westchester in October 1793.

The United States Court for the District of New York held its first session under Judge James Duane on the 3rd of November 1789, when the Judge and several attorneys took

the oath of office, but there being no further business before the Court it at once adjourned.

By an Act passed January 30th 1787 the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen were given the powers of Justices of the Peace. The regular officers of that kind in 1789 were James M. Hughes, George Bond, John Keefe, Nathaniel Lawrence, and William Wilcox. The Coroner in 1789 was Ephraim Braisher, a goldsmith who resided at No. 79 Queen Street. The roll of New York attorneys who had in 1789 been admitted to practice in the Supreme Court contained, in the month of July, 122 names, twenty-eight new attorneys being admitted to the bar during 1789. Among the distinguished names upon this roll were those of James Riker, admitted to the bar April 30th 1761; Richard N. Harrison, January 21st 1769; Robert Morris, October 26th 1771; John Jay, October 31st 1768; Abraham W. De Peyster, May 2nd 1767; Josiah Ogden Hoffman; Egbert Benson; John Cozine, May 1st 1773; Robert Troup, April 1782; Samuel Jones; Aaron Burr, January 1782; Alexander Hamilton, July 1782; Edward Livingston, Brockholst Livingston, James Kent, January 1785; and John Lawrence, January 21st 1775. By an Act of February 20th 1787 no person was to be admitted to the bar of any court unless he had been brought up in that court or was otherwise well practiced in soliciting causes and had been found by his dealings to be skilful and honest.

The City Watch in 1789 was under the control of the Common Council and consisted of about forty-five men in regular service, twenty extra men being added on the 31st of December 1788, but discharged on the 7th of April 1789. On the latter date Mr. Weissenfels, one of the captains of the watch, was called before the Common Council on a charge of irregularity in his watch, and, after stating that because of his advanced age he was unable to do better, requested that he either be allowed to resign or be discharged. He was thereupon discharged and James Culbertson was appointed in his place. On the 13th of April 1789 James Burras, the high-constable, was also removed from office for total neglect of his duty, and the Mayor appointed Mr. Culbertson to that

position. He apparently commanded one half of the watch, the other half being in command of Bartholomew Skaats. The captains received eight shillings a night and the men three shillings in summer, one shilling a night being added to the pay of each in winter. In January 1789, at the request of Mr. Seton, one watchman was posted at the Bank, and on the 23rd of October two men were added to the night watch. One watch-house was in a store hired of Isaac Levy and the other was erected in 1789, on the southeast corner of Wall and Broad Streets. Footpads were abundant and were always stated in the newspapers to be "wheelbarrow men" who had escaped from the Philadelphia prisons. On one occasion a farmer created great excitement by announcing that on his way to the city in the early morning he had been stopped by a gang of villains, who, after questioning him closely allowed him to depart unharmed; but, on the next day, the high-constable issued a card stating that the gang of villains had consisted of himself and his men, who had been upon important secret service for the city. At times, however, the robbers came to grief, for on the 29th of September 1789 the Common Council awarded £15 to watchmen Culbertson, Schofield and Gobel for apprehending dangerous robbers at night, and on the 16th of December, the same sum was paid to Alexander Lamb and two other watchmen for like services. In November 1789 John Houseman received £1 16s. for painting the watchmen's caps. In addition to keeping the streets clean, it was also desired that the onerous task of keeping them free from pigs should devolve upon the high constable, but he seems to have escaped that duty. On the 20th of September 1786 an ordinance was passed for the forfeiture of hogs found running in the streets, which was renewed in February 1789 in effect thus described by a newspaper rhymster:

"Oyes! Oyes! Oyes!

This is to give notice,

To all Hogs, Pigs, Swine and their Masters,
That from the first of February '89,
If any person suffer his, her, or their swine

To gallop about the streets at large,
Full twenty shillings is the charge
For each offence ;
To be paid (by firm and special order
Of our good Aldermen and Recorder)
To the informer's use, with all expence ;
Otherwise HE shall have free leave to dine
Upon the said arrested swine,
Send them to jail, or give t' the poor,
For which—' The Lord encrease his store.' ”

Although there was a dog-tax of eight shillings, dogs too seem to have been plentiful, for in July an exasperated citizen declared that the hog nuisance was increasing instead of being remedied, and that the inhabitants were deprived of their sleep by the squeaking of pigs and the barking of dogs in pursuit of them ; what was everybody's business was nobody's business, but if the matter were placed in charge of the high-constable it might be remedied.

The Fire Department in 1789 consisted of about 300 men, the Common Council having been authorized to appoint that number by an Act passed March 19th 1787. They were to be subject to removal at any time and exempt from constable, militia and jury duty. The engineers or superintendents of the department were William J. Elsworth, John Stagg, Francis Bassett, Isaac Mead, and John Quackenboss, but the first-named seems to have been the head of the department. On the 12th of September 1789 he received £106 10s. for one year's superintendence and repair of fire-engines. There were seventeen engine companies, each having a foreman and assistant, and two hook and ladder companies. The first fire-engines appeared in the city in December 1731, having been imported from London ; in 1789, however, those used were probably of American manufacture, as two advertisements of them appeared in the newspapers. In October, George Mason, a Philadelphia enginemaker, advertised several sizes of fire-engines, the largest of which held 175 gallons of water and threw a part of the stream 175 feet. It required eighteen men to work it, cost £150, and was warranted for seven years.

In November, William J. Elsworth advertised fire-engines made in New York for sale as cheap as they could be obtained elsewhere in America or imported from Europe. Mr. Elsworth remained at the head of the fire department until 1811. At fires, of which there were very few in 1789, the citizens and firemen formed a line with buckets from the nearest well or pump to the engine, whence the foreman directed the stream upon the flames. On such occasions the members of the Common Council were authorized to direct the work of the firemen, and they expected to be obeyed, as on the 25th of February 1789 George Seal, one of the firemen was removed for disobeying orders and for disrespect to a magistrate at a fire. This incident was followed by a resolution that no one under thirty years of age should be appointed as a fireman, but this limitation was repealed on the 13th of November. Every house having between three and six fireplaces was to have two leathern fire-buckets; those having six or less than nine fireplaces, four buckets; and those having nine or more fireplaces, six buckets, the cost of which was to be allowed by the landlord out of the rent. The penalty for not having buckets was six shillings fine a month for each bucket that was lacking. The buckets were marked with the owner's name and after a fire were collected in one place whence the owner picked out his property. Some of the fire companies also carried bags in which to remove property from burning buildings. The largest fire in 1789 was on the 4th of November when two houses on Great George Street near the Bridewell were destroyed, and the report being made that the fire had started from a crack in the chimney, the owner, Mr. Duggan, published affidavits by six masons that no such crack could be found. His anxiety on the subject was probably caused by a provision for forty shillings fine in case a chimney caught fire from lack of attention. An Act of March 15th 1788 forbade the storage of gunpowder in a larger quantity than 28 pounds in any one place less than a mile from the City Hall, except in the powder-house, and those 28 pounds were to be kept in jugs containing seven pounds each. By a city ordinance of October 30th 1789 chimney and fireplace in-

spectors were appointed, without whose permission no stove could be set up under a penalty of twenty shillings fine.

The militia of the State was organized under an Act passed April 4th 1786 requiring that every citizen above sixteen years of age and under forty-five should be enrolled in a militia company within four months, and within three months after enrollment should provide himself, at his own expense, with a good musket and accoutrements. Each brigade was to be commanded by a brigadier-general and to have connected with it one company of artillery, consisting of sixty-four men, including officers, and one troop of horse consisting of fifty-five men, including officers. These companies were to be clothed, at their own expense, in regimentals of a style to be determined by the brigadier-general. Each regiment of infantry was to be commanded by one lieutenant-colonel commandant and two majors, and was to consist of two battalions of four companies each, the companies consisting of eleven officers, a drummer, a fifer, and not less than sixty-five privates. There were also to be connected with each regiment two light infantry companies of volunteers, and four regiments thus constituted were to form a brigade. The militia was to rendezvous four times a year for training and discipline. The City of New York was also to raise one regiment of artillery to consist of as many companies as the commander-in-chief might consider necessary, not to exceed four, which were to be called out for exercise at least six times a year. The uniforms of general officers were dark blue coats with buff facings, lining, collars, and cuffs, yellow buttons, and buff underclothes. Regimental officers of infantry wore the same style of uniform with white trimmings and underclothes, and staff officers wore the same as the general officers without facings and cuffs to their coats. Non-commissioned officers and privates of the light infantry companies of volunteers were to wear dark blue coats with white linings, collars, and cuffs, and white underclothes, but those of other companies were not obliged to appear in that uniform. Each regiment was to be furnished with State and regimental colors at the expense of the field-officers, and each company with a drum and fife at

the expense of its commissioned officers. Quakers were to pay forty shillings a year instead of performing military duty, and government officials, ministers, physicians, school teachers, firemen, and some others were exempt from such duty. This Act was amended on the 18th of April 1787 by a provision that when forty men of the enrolled militia of the City of New York desired to arm themselves as grenadiers, they should be allowed to do so.

The city militia in 1789 consisted of the Brigade of the City and County of New York under command of William Malcolm, Brigadier-General. The various regiments and companies were :-

1st Regiment, HENRY RUTGERS, *Lieut. Colonel.*

2nd " MORGAN LEWIS, " "

3rd " HENDRICK WYCKOFF, " "

4th " JAMES ALNER, " "

5th " JAMES M. HUGHES, " "

Regiment of Artillery, SEBASTIAN BAUMAN, *Lieut. Colonel.*

Legion of the City of New York, JAMES CHRYSTIE, *Lieut. Colonel.*

Brigade Company of Artillery, JOHN STOUTENBURGH, *Captain.*

Troop of Horse, JOHN STAKES, *Captain.*

The captain of the second company of grenadiers of the 1st Regiment was George Scriba, and their uniform, as described in Stone's History of New York, consisted of blue coats, yellow waistcoats and breeches, black gaiters and cone-shaped caps faced with bear skin. Another company wore blue coats faced with red and embroidered with gold, white waistcoats and breeches, black spatterdashes buttoned close from the foot to the knee, and cocked hats with white feathers. Parades were held on the race-ground in the vicinity of the present junction of Division and Hester Streets. General William Malcolm first appears in New York in 1763 as an importer of Scotch goods, his place of business being near the Fly Market. In 1767 he became secretary of the St. Andrew's Society, and during the Revolution commanded the 2nd New York Regiment. In 1784, 1786, and 1787 he was an Assemblyman. He died in the city on the 1st of Sep-

tember 1791 and was buried on the following day with military and masonic honors. Colonel Sebastian Bauman, of the Regiment of Artillery, was born in Frankfort, Germany, on the 6th of April 1739. After an education as an engineer and artillerist in the Austrian service, he fled to America to escape the results of a duel, and in May 1775 was appointed captain of a German company which volunteered in the 1st New York Regiment, in which he acted as major. At intervals during the years 1781 and 1782 he was in command at West Point and there prepared for Washington maps of that post which fell into the hands of Benedict Arnold and were found in Major André's boot. He was honorably discharged from the Continental Army in June 1784 and was breveted lieutenant-colonel on the 14th of April 1787. In October 1789 he was appointed postmaster of New York and held that office until his death on the 19th of October 1803. Captain John Stakes of the Troop of Horse was also a German who had served in the Revolution as a lieutenant of Light Dragoons. Colonel James Chrystie of the Legion was born near Edinburgh, Scotland, on the 13th of January 1750, and appeared in Philadelphia in 1777. After serving in Pennsylvania regiments during the Revolution and receiving an honorable discharge from the army in November 1783, he established himself in business in New York, and in 1789 was a china merchant at No. 17 Maiden Lane. A few years later he served in Gen. Wayne's expedition against the Indians in Ohio, but returned to the city at the close of the campaign and was the leading dealer in chinaware until his death in June 1807.

On the 4th of July 1789 Gen. Malcolm's brigade, under command of Col. Chrystie, paraded on the race-ground at six o'clock in the morning and on their return passed the house of Washington, who was then ill but appeared at the door in full regimentals. At noon a salute was fired from the Fort, and at four o'clock the officers dined at Sam Fraunces' Tavern in Cortlandt Street, and at the third toast, to the President of the United States, the company rose and gave three cheers and the band struck up General Washington's March. The annual inspection of the brigade was made by Adjutant

General Nicholas Fish on the 29th of July. A parade and review also took place on the 28th of September which was saddened by the death of John Loudon, lieutenant and adjutant of the 1st Regiment, who was killed by the accidental discharge of a ramrod from a gun in the hands of one of his men. It is to the honor of the newspapers of that day that the name of the unfortunate man who discharged the gun did not appear in one of them. Lieut. Loudon, who was the son of Samuel Loudon the printer, was a member of Dr. Mason's church and of Holland Lodge, and was buried on the 29th of September with military and masonic honors, an ode to his memory, composed by Mr. Low, being sung in the Lodge Room. Col. Hendrick Wyckoff of the 3rd Regiment also died on the 22nd of October at his father's house on Long Island. He was a partner of Melancthon Smith in the firm of Smith and Wyckoff, and is said to have been "eminent as a patriot, graceful as a soldier, and virtuous as a man." Evacuation Day was celebrated by the hoisting of the colors at the Fort, and the firing of a federal salute at noon.

The New York Society of the Cincinnati, which in 1789 consisted of about 180 members, met at the City Tavern on the 4th of July and elected Baron Steuben, president, Alexander Hamilton, vice-president, Major John Stagg, secretary, and Col. Richard Platt, treasurer. John Stagg, the secretary, was born in 1758, served in the Continental Army during the Revolution, was a clerk in the war office for eight years, and was sheriff of the city from 1801 until his death of yellow fever on the 28th of December 1803. He was an Assemblyman in 1784 and 1786, and in 1789 was a major in the City Legion and a City Surveyor. Col. Richard Platt, who was born in 1754, was a member of a Long Island family, and served in the Continental army throughout the Revolution. He was a strong federalist in politics and acted as marshal of the Federal Procession in July 1788. He died on the 3rd of March 1830. After this election of officers the Society appointed a committee consisting of Baron Steuben, Alexander Hamilton, Gen. Samuel B. Webb, Col. William S. Smith, and Col. Bauman, to present its congratulations to the

President, Vice-President, and Speaker of the House of Representatives; which was done except in the case of the Speaker, who could not be found. The Society then went in procession, escorted by Bauman's Artillery, to St. Paul's Chapel, where a eulogium upon Gen. Nathaniel Greene was pronounced by Alexander Hamilton, his audience including the President's wife and family, the Vice-President and ladies of his family, the Senate, and the Speaker and House of Representatives. Washington was too ill to be present. A dinner and the drinking of thirteen toasts at the City Tavern closed the Society's celebration of the day.

Among those in the city in 1789 who had been naval officers were Commodore James Nicholson, and Admiral Pierre Landais. The former was born in Chestertown, Md., in 1737 and coming to New York in 1762 entered the Royal Navy. At the outbreak of the Revolution he joined the American cause, and in 1777 became Commodore and Commander-in-chief of the American Navy, but was not particularly successful in the struggle against the British. He died in New York on the 2nd of September 1804. Pierre Landais was a Frenchman who had been disgraced by Congress for failing to support Paul Jones in the action between the *Bonhomme Richard* and the *Serapis*, and was therefore a bitter foe of the "pirate." Meeting Paul Jones on the street in New York in October 1787, with true French politeness, he spat upon the sidewalk and then informed his enemy that he might consider the sidewalk to be his person. Capt. Jones' failure to immediately resent this conduct caused rumors to be spread derogatory to his courage and led to the publication of the following card in the *New York Packet*: "To the Public. Having yesterday, late in the afternoon, received information of a report circulating here, that Peter Landais—(who was an officer in the squadron I commanded in Europe in the late war, and was in America broke and rendered incapable of public service by a Court Martial,—for matters of a date subsequent to and unconnected with the charges I made against him in Europe, which are of a nature to call his life in question, and of which the most material proofs have never been published,

but are lodged in the office of Foreign Affairs)—did personally insult me in this city on Friday last by spitting in my face: I take this method to declare that the said report is an absolute falsehood—it being impossible that such an insult should have been offered to me, with impunity, under any circumstances whatever. PAUL JONES. Monday, October 29th 1787.” In February 1786 there had been published the first two parts of M. Landais’ *Justification* and he endeavored for many years to obtain a reversal of the action of Congress toward him but failed to do so. He died in New York in June 1818, aged 87 years.

The political campaign of 1789 was contested with unusual bitterness, the city being a stronghold of Federalism and the State at large being Antifederalist. When the city delegates to the Poughkeepsie Convention, which was to consider the question of ratifying the Federal Constitution, were chosen in 1788 the highest number of votes cast for an Antifederalist candidate was 134, while John Jay received 2735 votes. With the exception of William Morris, who did not vote at all, the New York City members of the Convention all voted for ratification, and the members from the neighboring counties of Westchester, Kings, and Queens, voted unanimously for it. The election of Governor and Congressmen in 1789 renewed the struggle which had been won by the Federalists in the Convention of 1788. By an Act passed on the 13th of February 1787 it was provided for the first time in this State, that the election of State officers should be by secret ballot, that method of voting having been recommended by the Constitution of 1777. The qualifications for voting for State officers consisted in being a male inhabitant of full age who had resided in the county for six months, who possessed a freehold to the value of £20 or rented a tenement of the yearly value of forty shillings in the county, and had actually paid taxes in the State. The election was to be held on the last Tuesday in April, the polls to remain open for five days if necessary, and three hours notice to be given of their closing. The votes for Assembly were to be canvassed by the Common Council on the last Tuesday in May. Owing to the opposition of the

Antifederalists, New York State took no part in the election of President Washington, and the political gluttony of the same party greatly delayed the election of Congressmen and United States Senators. The situation was accurately described by Dr. Hugh Williamson when he wrote as follows from New York on the 24th of January 1789 to James Iredell: "The General Assembly of this State, after spending two months in pure wrangling, during which time many of them have had the felicity to make a clear saving of one dollar per day, have at length agreed to divide the State into six election districts for the choice of the representatives in the new Congress. They cannot yet agree about the mode of choosing Senators. The Commons wish to have all Anties, and the Senate wish to have at least one Congress Senator a federal man." The Act for the division of the State into six congressional districts was passed on the 27th of January 1789, the qualifications for voting for congressmen being the same as those for voting for State officers, and the first election being ordered to take place on the first Tuesday in the following March. The City and County of New York and the County of Westchester, with the exception of five towns, formed one of the districts, each of which was to elect one Congressman. The electioneering for Governor and Congressman were carried on at the same time, support of or opposition to the Federal Constitution being the distinguishing marks of the two parties in the State. The first candidate for the governorship to appear was Pierre Van Cortlandt, then Lieutenant Governor, who announced his candidacy in a card published on the 2nd of February. On the 11th of February a meeting of citizens at the City Tavern nominated Judge Robert Yates for Governor, and Mr. Van Cortlandt for Lieutenant Governor, and on the following day the friends of Judge Richard Morris put him in nomination; he, however, withdrew his name on the 27th of February in the interest of harmony. The meeting of February 11th was followed by another on the 23rd which endorsed its action and nominated John Lawrence for Congressman. The Federalists controlled these meetings, their objections to Governor Clinton, who wished to

be re-elected, being stated in a circular letter written by Alexander Hamilton on the 18th of February, laying especial emphasis on the points that the Governor should look with favor upon the Federal Constitution, and that he should support the dignity of his office by suitable hospitality and not arouse disgust and contempt by endeavoring to enrich himself by his office. In order to avoid the charge of party spirit it had been thought advisable to nominate a man of the other party and, accordingly, Judge Yates, who was not a Federalist, had been nominated. The circular further stated that it was hoped that Judge Morris and Mr. Van Cortlandt would withdraw from candidacy. This circular was signed by Mr. Hamilton as chairman of a Federalist committee of correspondence of which the other members were Robert Troup, William Duer, William Constable, John Murray, Richard Platt, Isaiah Wool, Robert Bowne, Aaron Burr, John Meyer, George Gosman, James Robinson, and Daniel Hitchcock. Among the first movements on the part of the Antifederalists was a warning on the 17th of February that there was then "stealing upon the public, as from an ambuscade, a Publication, entitled 'The Milkiad'" which contained a censure of the most poignant kind upon Gov. Clinton. The author of this plot was said to have based his poem upon a circumstance which with the weak and prejudiced might pass for a true story, but which upon examination would retreat with the rest of the host of calumnies with which the Federalists intended to commence their electioneering. On the 26th of February the Antifederalists, in the guise of "merchants, mechanics, and traders," called a meeting to nominate a merchant for Congressman, in opposition to John Lawrence who was a lawyer. William Malcolm was the chairman of this meeting, but owing to lack of room at the Coffee House, the meeting was adjourned to be held the next evening at the City Tavern. But on the 27th Alexander Hamilton issued a call to all citizens to be present at this meeting, and when it took place the nomination of Mr. Lawrence was ratified by a large majority of the 1000 citizens who were present. The Antifederalists were thus obliged to solicit votes through the

newspapers for John Broome, who was said to be a friend of the Constitution, a merchant, a man of letters, and well acquainted with the law. The polling places in the city appointed for the congressional election were the Coffee House in the East Ward, Aorson's Tavern in the North Ward, the City Tavern in the West Ward, Rawson's Tavern in Montgomerie Ward, the Bull's Head Tavern in the Out Ward, John Francis' Tavern in the Dock Ward, and the Exchange in the South Ward. The City vote, which was canvassed on the 7th of April, stood, for John Lawrence 2255, for John Broome 286, for Philip Pell 2 votes. In the whole district, including Westchester County, Mr. Lawrence received 2418, Mr. Broome 372, and Mr. Pell 33 votes. John Lawrence, who was thus elected first Congressman from the City under the new Constitution, was born in Cornwall, England, in 1750, and, coming to New York in 1767, was admitted to the bar in 1772 and practiced in the city until the Revolution, during which he served in the 1st New York Regiment. He also acted as judge-advocate-general on Washington's staff, and was a member of the court-martial which convicted Major André. He was a delegate to the Continental Congress from 1785 to 1787, a State Senator in 1789, sat in the U. S. Congress from the 8th of April 1789 until the 2nd of March 1793 when he became U. S. Circuit Court Judge, and was a U. S. Senator from December 8th 1796 until his resignation in August 1800. He died in New York on the 7th of November 1810.

The congressional election having been thus ended in a manner which was to be expected, the Antifederalists bent all their energies toward the re-election of Gov. Clinton, in which they were successful throughout the State although defeated in New York City. The fact that Mr. Lawrence was a lawyer furnished the text for the following remarks which appeared in the Daily Advertiser of March 4th 1789:

“Beware of Lawyers.”

“Of the men who framed that monarchical, aristocratical, oligarchical, tyrannical, diabolical system of slavery, the *New Constitution*, one Half were lawyers. Of the men who repre-

sented, or rather misrepresented, this city and county in the late convention of this state, to whose wicked arts we may chiefly attribute the adoption of that abominable system, *seven* out of the *nine* were Lawyers. This same class of men will do all they can to establish and confirm that nefarious system, and as long as they are blindly trusted by the people, we shall never be able to succeed in our virtuous attempts to destroy it. And what crowns the wickedness of these wicked lawyers is, that a great majority of them throughout the state are violently opposed to our GREAT and GOOD HEAD and never failing friend of the city and city interests, the present GOVERNOR. That aspiring party are the worst enemies of his and our VIRTUOUS ASPIRINGS. We warned you against them at the election for convention men; we now warn you against them again. Beware, beware, beware of Lawyers!"

"A true Antifederalist and NO LAWYER."

At a small meeting held on the 9th of March by about 100 citizens under the chairmanship of Jonathan Lawrence a merchant of the city, the Antifederalists discussed the question of nominations, and on the 17th of March nominated George Clinton for Governor, Pierre Van Cortlandt for Lieutenant Governor, and David Gelston for State Senator from the southern district. The Federalist candidate for Senator was Philip Livingston of Westchester County. The Antifederalists also appointed a committee of thirty-six members to promote the re-election of Gov. Clinton and the following gentlemen were chosen as a committee of correspondence:

JONATHAN LAWRENCE.

JOHN STAGG.
MARINUS WILLET.
ELIAS NEXSON.
WILLIAM MALCOLM.
WILLIAM DENNING.
ISAAC NORTON.

ISAAC COOK.
HENRY RUTGERS.
JOHN H. SLEIGHT.
ISAAC STOUTENBURGH.
MELANCTHON SMITH.
DAVID GELSTON.

The chairman of this committee, Jonathan Lawrence, had been a State Senator from 1777 to 1783, a member of the Council of Appointment in 1778 and 1782, and an Assistant Alderman from the Montgomerie Ward in 1784. In Septem-

ber 1789 he was appointed Inspector of Potash. The ablest member of the committee, and one who had taken a prominent part as an Antifederalist in the Poughkeepsie Convention of 1783, was Melancthon Smith, who was born in 1744, being one of the fifteen children of Samuel Smith, a farmer at Jamaica, Long Island. When a boy he was placed in a store at Poughkeepsie, and in 1777 was appointed first Sheriff of Dutchess County, being an active patriot during the Revolution. In 1788 he represented Dutchess County in the State Convention, acting as leader of the Antifederalists but finally succumbing to the eloquence of Alexander Hamilton and voting for ratification. After this convention he took no very active part in politics but devoted himself to his business until his death on the 29th of July 1798. Toward the end of March 1789 this correspondence committee flooded the State with handbills containing an address to the electors, and the political battle was fairly begun. On the one side it was claimed that Governor Clinton was penurious and had amassed a fortune of £30,000 during his governorship; that the four terms for which he had already been elected ought to satisfy the ambition of any man, and that frequent rotation in office was a fundamental principle of republicanism. On the other hand, it was said that the politics of the city, since the peace, had been run by "a brace of creoles" who had no other merit than that derived from consummate impudence and were now endeavoring to palm off a governor of their own making upon the people and to cram a senator upon them from another State, as if New York had no citizen worthy of that honor. The Anti-Clintonians were denounced as wealthy aristocrats, and a family, designated as "the L—— family," was bitterly assailed for deserting Governor Clinton to whom they had every reason to be grateful. No personal attacks of any consequence were made upon Judge Yates, but a man who had been Governor for twelve years furnished a fair mark for personal abuse. He was hated chiefly for his opposition to the Federal Constitution, and upon the day that the Constitution came into effect, a Boston newspaper published a long political biography of Governor Clinton, as of one who had de-

parted political life. Another Boston paper printed a programme of the funeral procession of Antifederalism which included: "His Excel. G. Cl—nt—n, Esq. In both hands a Purse, tied up. The words thereon, *If New York loses the Impost, I lose thee.*" The main charge made against him was that of avarice, and it was announced that the members of the Antifederalist committee of correspondence in the city were unpopular, without influence, and chiefly office-holders by the Governor's appointment. His strongest opponent in the city newspapers was one "H. G.," who published a series of letters describing the Governor's career in a manner by no means complimentary. "H. G." also made a violent attack upon Marinus Willet, who announced that he knew his identity and would show him up in his true colors, but afterwards admitted that he had been unable to fathom his personality. "H. G's." letters were also answered by "William Tell," and before the electioneering was finished, volleys of abuse were hurled in all directions by these writers and by "Tammany" and "Tammany jr." One citizen, who was evidently a Mugwump, expressed his opinion thus: "'The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib' and I am much deceived if these brayers on both sides, with one or two exceptions, are not actuated by similar motives." The chairmen of the opposing committees, Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Lawrence, were so unequally provided in the matter of mental equipment that their productions during the campaign cannot fairly be compared. Mr. Lawrence was no match for the greatest statesman whom New York has ever produced. The result of the election for governor, however, showed that Governor Clinton was not as politically dead as his opponents wished him to be. The vote in New York City was as follows:

WARD.	YATES.	CLINTON.
East.	125.	96.
West.	146.	41.
Dock.	53.	49.
South.	53.	16.
North.	101.	55.
Out.	115.	89.
Montgomerie	240.	66.
Total.	833.	385.

Judge Yates also carried Westchester, Dutchess, Columbia, Albany and Montgomery counties, but Governor Clinton's strength in the other counties was sufficient to give him a majority of 429 votes in the State. The smallest vote was in Clinton County where but forty-five ballots were cast, of which Governor Clinton received forty-two. It was estimated that there were nearly 20,000 freeholders in the State of whom 12,353 voted, 547 ballots being thrown out for various reasons. Before the votes were canvassed, bets were made in the city at the odds of two to one in favor of Gov. Clinton's re-election and it was conjectured that £1000 were lost in that manner. Governor Clinton's triumph was thus announced in the *New York Journal* of June 4th 1789: "It has been remarked that this election for Governor has been more severely contested than any one since the peace, and incontestibly proves that a very great majority of the citizens of the State have full confidence in him whom they have for five successive elections placed in the chair of government; who, then, can other than hail him—the favorite of the people." On the 5th of June, Governor Clinton and his friends held a jubilee at Fraunces' Tavern. The Governor's salary for a number of years had been £1500 a year but by an Act passed on the 28th of February 1789 he was to receive, during the year ending July 1st 1789, £1200 salary, £300 for the rent of the house then occupied by him, and a sufficient amount to pay the taxes on it. Mr. Van Cortlandt received a practically unanimous vote of 11,445 ballots for Lieutenant-Governor.

The election of Assemblymen and State Senator did not arouse as much interest in the city as that of Governor. The cartmen, mechanics, and other citizens held various meetings at which the following gentlemen were nominated for Assemblymen, a list of their names giving an idea of the class of men who were in political life at that time:

WILLIAM BACKHOUSE.
JOHN BROOME.
DONALD CAMPBELL.
FRANCIS CHILDS.

JOHN LEAKE, JR.
MORGAN LEWIS.
DANIEL MCCORMICK.
WHITE MATLACK.

MATTHEW CLARKSON.
 WILLIAM CONSTABLE.
 NICHOLAS CRUGER.
 JOHN DELAFIELD.
 WM. W. GILBERT.
 WILLIAM HEYER.
 RUFUS KING.
 JONATHAN LAWRENCE.
 WILLIAM LAIGHT.

JOHN MURRAY.
 JAMES NICHOLSON.
 ANTHONY POST.
 ROBERT R. RANDALL.
 COMFORT SANDS.
 EBENEZER STEVENS.
 ROBERT TROUP.
 GULIAN VERPLANK.
 JOHN WATTS.

HENRY WILL.

The names of the nine who were elected, and the number of votes which each received were these:

GULIAN VERPLANK, 1176.	HENRY WILL, 1131.
JOHN WATTS, 1176.	ROBERT R. RANDALL, 1130.
RUFUS KING, 1173.	MORGAN LEWIS, 1115.
MATTHEW CLARKSON, 1143.	ANTHONY POST, 788.
FRANCIS CHILDS, 675.	

Assemblymen received 12s. a day and their travelling expenses.

Philip Livingston was elected State Senator.

The political event occurring in New York City in 1789, which, with the exception of President Washington's inauguration, has proved to be of the greatest importance, was the organization of the St. Tammany's Society, or Columbian Order. Societies bearing the name of St. Tammany had existed both in Philadelphia and New York before 1789, but the present organization, commonly known as Tammany Hall, had its origin in the early part of that year, its founder being William Mooney, an upholsterer, whose residence was No. 23 Nassau Street. According to a description of its purposes, written in 1790, "this national institution holds up as its object the smile of charity, the chain of friendship, and the flame of liberty: and in general, whatever may tend to perpetuate the love of freedom or the political advantage of this country." As organized in 1789, it was to be a national society founded on the true principles of patriotism, and having for its motives charity and brotherly love. Its officers were to consist of native-born Americans, while adopted citizens were eligible

to the honorary posts of warrior and hunter. The officers were one grand sachem, twelve sachems, one treasurer, one secretary, and one door-keeper, the society being divided into thirteen tribes, each representing a State and being governed by a sachem, and containing one honorary warrior and one hunter. The society was governed in 1789 by,

WILLIAM MOONEY, *Grand Sachem.*

Sachems.

WHITE MATLACK.

OLIVER GLEAN.

PHILIP HONE.

JAMES TYLEE.

JOHN CAMPBELL.

GABRIEL FURMAN.

JOHN BURGER.

JONATHAN PEARSEE.

THOMAS GREENLEAF.

ABEL HARDENBROOK.

CORTLANDT VAN BEUREN.

JOSEPH GADWIN.

Treasurer, THOMAS ASH.

Secretary, ANTHONY ERNEST.

Doorkeeper, GARDNER BAKER.

The St. Tammany's Society, at the outset, included men of all parties and did not take a prominent part in politics. In 1789 its meetings were held at Sam Fraunces' tavern, but it celebrated the 12th of May in tents erected on the bank of the Hudson River about two miles from the city, where a large number of members partook of an elegant entertainment, served precisely at three o'clock, after which there was singing and smoking and universal expressions of brotherly love. In 1790 the Tammany Society, through the efforts of John Pintard, became the first American Historical Society by establishing a museum for the preservation and exhibition of all things relating to the history and antiquities of America.

The national political events occurring in New York in 1789 included the meeting of the first Congress under the Federal Constitution and the inauguration of the first President and Vice-President of the United States. The Constitution had been adopted by the members of the Philadelphia Convention on the 17th of September 1787, its benefits had been practically secured by its ratification by the ninth state, New Hampshire, on the 21st of June 1788, and it had been

ratified by New York, on the 26th of July 1788. Until the 21st of November 1789, North Carolina was a "foreign state," and Rhode Island chose to occupy that position until the 29th of May 1790. The electors of the President were to be appointed on the first Wednesday in January 1789, and were to cast their votes on the first Wednesday in February, but through the opposition of the Antifederalists, no electors were appointed in New York State. The Constitution was to go into operation on the first Wednesday of March 1789, and that day was greeted in the City by the ringing of bells and firing of cannon at sunrise, noon, and sunset, and the decoration of Federal Hall with flags. The feeling of the Federalists throughout the country with regard to the event was expressed in a Boston newspaper of March 7th in an article beginning thus: "The Copartnership of Anarchy and Antifederalism being on the 4th inst. dissolved by the death of the concerned, the firm ceases to be. The stock in trade consisting of subterfuges, scarecrows, calumny, etc., will be disposed of at Public Auction to Arnold, Galloway, Deane, or their agents—and anything will be received in payment except Rhode Island paper money." The Federalists, however, met with a dire disappointment in the lack of activity on the part of the Congressmen in coming to New York. On the 4th of March there being but eight Senators and thirteen Representatives present, the meeting of Congress was adjourned for lack of a quorum. Daily adjournments continued until the 1st of April when the House, having a quorum of thirty members, organized and chose as speaker Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg of Pennsylvania. No quorum appeared in the Senate until the 6th of April, but there being a quorum of twelve Senators on that day, John Langdon of New Hampshire was chosen temporary President of the Senate and the votes for President and Vice-President were opened and counted. Each ballot contained two names, the person receiving the highest number of votes to be President, and the next to highest number Vice-President. The total number of votes cast was sixty-nine, of which George Washington received all. The votes for other candidates were, for John

Adams, 34; John Jay, 9; Richard H. Harrison, 6; John Rutledge, 6; John Hancock, 4; George Clinton, 3; Samuel Huntington, 2; John Milton, 2; James Armstrong, 1; Benjamin Lincoln, 1; and Edward Telfair, 1. Charles Thomson, the Secretary of Congress was then appointed to announce his election to General Washington, and Sylvanus Bourne of Roxbury, Mass., was sent on a like mission to John Adams. New York State was not yet represented in either branch of Congress, as the votes cast at the Congressional election were not yet canvassed and no Senators had yet been elected. Not until the latter part of July did the New York Legislature come to an agreement with regard to electing U. S. Senators, the candidates then being Philip Schuyler, Rufus King, James Duane, Lewis Morris, and Ezra L'Hommedieu. Rufus King of New York City and Philip Schuyler of Albany were finally chosen and took their seats in the Senate on the 25th and 27th of July respectively, their drawing for terms resulting in Mr. King obtaining the term for six and Mr. Schuyler that for two years. Mr. King was born in Scarborough, Maine, in 1755, and after graduation from Harvard College in 1777, studied law and soon attained eminence in that profession. He served in the Revolution, and was a member of the Continental Congress and of the Convention which framed the Federal Constitution. In 1786 he married Mary, daughter of John Alsop of New York, and took his residence in the city in 1788. In the election of 1789 he was chosen Assemblyman, and then passing to the U. S. Senate was re-elected in 1795, but resigned in 1796 to become Minister to England where he remained until 1804. In 1813 he was again elected to the U. S. Senate and remained in it until 1825, when he was again appointed Minister to England but returned in the following year in broken health, and died at Jamaica, Long Island, on the 29th of April 1827. He was a stout federalist and a vigorous opponent of slavery.

The early meetings of Congress were devoted to preparations for the reception and inauguration of the President and Vice-President, then followed a heated discussion as to the titles which were to be given them, and this was followed by

a Salary Bill by which it was ordered that the President should receive \$25000 a year, the Vice-President \$5000, the Speaker twelve dollars a day during the session, and the Senators and Representatives six dollars a day. The next topic discussed was the tariff, and then came the question of the permanent seat of the Federal Government. In this question the citizens of New York had the deepest interest and the galleries were thronged during the bitter debates upon the subject in September 1789. Ladies had made their appearance in the gallery of the House in April, a most laudable curiosity, according to the newspapers, being a sufficient reason for the novelty of the circumstance. Congress adjourned on the 29th of September 1789 after passing twenty-seven Acts and a number of resolutions. It met again in New York on the 4th of January 1790 and sat until the 12th of August when it adjourned to meet next in Philadelphia.

The Federal appointments to office in which the city was interested began early in August when the President appointed John Lamb, collector of the port, Benjamin Walker, naval officer, and John Lasher, surveyor. Of these John Lamb was the most distinguished. He was born in the city on the first of January 1735, being the son of Anthony Lamb, an excellent maker of mathematical instruments, who died at the age of 81 years, on the 11th of December 1784. The son for a time assisted his father in business but in 1760 engaged in the wine trade. Before the Revolution he was an active Liberty Boy and served with distinction throughout the war, being wounded and taken prisoner in Montgomery's expedition against Quebec. He was a member of Assembly in 1784 and was appointed Collector on the 22nd of March in that year, reappointed under the Federal Government in 1789, and held the office until 1797. He died in New York on the 31st of May 1800.

Benjamin Walker was born in England in 1753, and after passing a few years in France was employed by a merchant in London by whom he was sent at an early age to New York. During the Revolution he acted as aide-de-camp to Baron Steuben and to General Washington, it being related that

upon one occasion when Baron Steuben had exhausted his store of expletives in endeavoring to drill some raw recruits he cried out: "Viens, Walker, mon ami, viens, mon bon ami, sacré, Gott dam de gaucheries of dese badauts, je ne puis plus, I can curse dem no more." After the peace, Col. Walker acted for a short time as secretary to Gov. Clinton and then became a commission merchant in New York residing in 1789 at No. 22 King (Pine) Street. He was Naval Officer until 1797 when he moved to Fort Schuyler, now Utica, where he died on the 13th of January 1818. John Lasher was a member of the Committee of Safety in 1775, was appointed Surveyor on the 19th of November 1784, reappointed in 1789 and held the office until the year 1800. The port wardens in 1789 were Thomas Randall, Augustine Lawrence, and William Heyer, and the physician to inspect vessels was Dr. Charles McKnight.

Of more importance was the appointment of Alexander Hamilton to the Secretaryship of the Treasury on the 11th of September 1789 which was followed a few days later by his appointment of William Duer as Assistant Secretary. Mr. Duer was born in England on the 18th of March 1747 and twenty years later was aide to Lord Clive in India. In 1768 he came to America and purchased a tract of land in Washington County, N. Y. where he became County Judge. He was a member of the New York Provincial Congress, and of the Committee of Safety, one of the committee that drafted the State Constitution in 1777, and a member of the Continental Congress in that and the following year. He was Secretary of the Treasury Board until 1789, author of a few numbers of the *Federalist*, and served as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury until 1790. In 1779 he married Miss Kitty Alexander, daughter of William Alexander, who unsuccessfully claimed the title of Lord Stirling. His death occurred in New York on the 7th of May 1797.

Later in September came the appointments of John Jay to be Chief Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court, James Duane, to be U. S. District Court Judge, Richard Harrison, U. S. Attorney, and Samuel Osgood, Postmaster General, the latter

appointment causing a change in the Postmastership of the City. The main post-route in the country then ran from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to Savannah, Georgia, but there were only seventy-five post offices in all. The route in New York State covered 249 miles; the contract for carrying the mails three times a week in summer and twice a week in winter being given to Levi Pease at \$3300 a year. The total receipts at the New York City Post Office for the three months ending January 5th 1790 were \$1067.08, the postmaster's emoluments amounting to \$252.32. The amount of postage required was almost prohibitive, the cost of sending a letter from New York to Savannah being 33 cents. The city postmaster for a number of years had been William Bedlow whose office in 1789 was at No. 8 Wall Street, but on the 22nd of September 1789 the President approved an Act for the establishment of a New Post Office Department, which was to remain in effect only to the end of the next session of Congress. Ebenezer Hazard, had, as Postmaster General, managed the department for a number of years in the face of the greatest difficulties, but had allowed the postmasters throughout the country to manage the offices on a credit system and to fall years in arrears in their accounts with the government; he was therefore removed and Samuel Osgood appointed in his place on the 29th of September 1789, and a few days later Sebastian Bauman took Mr. Bedlow's place as postmaster. The methods of the department in those days are illustrated by a card which Mr. Bedlow published on the 6th of October 1789 thanking the merchants for their kindness toward him and requesting them to call and settle their accounts. The new Postmaster General endeavored to hasten the settlement by entering up a judgment against the former postmaster for arrears due to the government, and on the 9th of March 1790 the latter presented a petition to Congress praying for more time in which to pay the judgment. Mr. Bedlow died of yellow fever in 1798. On the 5th of October the post office was removed from No. 8 Wall Street to No. 62 Broadway, corner of Crown (Liberty) Street, and two days later "A Merchant" expressed the hope that Mr. Bau-

man would have more consideration for the ease and comfort of the citizens than to continue it there long, but would choose some more central place. For the greater part of the year, the mails from the South arrived at 3 P.M. on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, and closed at 10 P.M. on Monday, Wednesday and Friday, those from the East arriving on the same days at 7 P.M. and closing on Tuesday, Thursday and Sunday at 8 P.M. From the 1st of November until the first of January, however, the Southern mail closed at 1 P.M. on Monday and Thursday, and arrived at 3 P.M. on Wednesday and Saturday, while the Eastern and Northern mail closed at 8 P.M. on Sunday and 9 P.M. on Wednesday, and arrived at 6 P.M. on Wednesday and Saturday. Letters had to be in the post office half an hour before the mail closed. On the 1st of January 1790 it was announced that the mail would be sent to Philadelphia five times a week.

On the 12th of December 1789 the offices of the Secretary, Comptroller, Register, and Auditor of the Treasury were removed from Broadway to one of the corners of Broad and Great Dock (Pearl) Street. The State Treasury was next door to No. 9 Great Dock Street.

The representatives from foreign countries in New York City in 1789 were Don Diego de Gardoqui, encargado de negocios from Spain, and José Viar, *chargé d'affaires* in the latter part of the year; Marquis de Moustier, minister from France, and Louis G. Otto, *chargé d'affaires*; Francis P. Van Berckel, minister resident from Holland; Sir John Temple, consul-general from Great Britain; and Richard Sonderstrom, Swedish consul. Don Diego de Gardoqui had come to America in 1785 to carry on negotiations with regard to the Mississippi River and became very popular in New York, his departure on the 10th of October 1789, on the snow San Nicholas for Bilbao, being universally regretted. José Viar then became *chargé d'affaires*, having been officially presented to President Washington on the 25th of September, and occupied that post until 1794, and for a short time in 1796. Eléonor-François-Élie, marquis de Moustier, the French Ambassador, was born in Paris on the 15th of May 1751, and after

a military and scientific education went to London as Minister Plenipotentiary in 1783. In 1787 he took the place of M. de la Luzerne in America and, being a stout adherent of the Bourbons, made himself extremely obnoxious in a republic which he despised. He had a parting audience with President Washington on the 9th of October 1789 and sailed for France a week later. In 1790 he became ambassador to Prussia, and in the following year returned to France to decline to become Minister of Foreign Affairs, and at the same time refused to return to Berlin. He was then appointed Ambassador to Constantinople but had to flee to England to escape death at the hands of the French Revolutionists. He immediately returned, however, to the Continent and labored in behalf of the Bourbons, his letters, falling into the hands of the Jacobins, being reproduced in the Act of Accusation against Louis XVI. In 1792 he returned to England where he remained until 1796 when he took up his residence in Prussia until driven out by Bonaparte in 1806. He then fled to Hartwell, England, with Louis XVIII. and shared the fortunes of that monarch until July 1815, when he retired to a country-house near Versailles where he died of apoplexy on the 1st of February 1817, after a life of loyal devotion to a bad cause. In 1810 his son was appointed to a diplomatic mission to the United States, but was ordered elsewhere as he was preparing to sail.

Louis G. Otto, the French *chargé d'affaires*, was born in Baden in 1754, and coming to America in 1779 remained until 1792. He died in Paris in November 1817. Francis P. Van Berckel, minister from the Netherlands, arrived in New York on the 10th of May 1789, presented his credentials on the 16th of that month, and represented that country in the United States until September 1795. Sir John Temple, the British consul-general, was born on Noddle's Island, in Boston Harbor, in August 1732, and from 1761 to 1767 was Surveyor General of Customs for the Northern District of America. From 1761 to 1774 he was also Lieutenant Governor of New Hampshire, but in the latter year was removed from that office because of inclination toward the American

cause. After a sojourn in England for some years, he resided in Boston in 1783, and in 1785 became consul-general in New York, remaining in that office until his death on the 17th of November 1798. In January 1767 he married Elizabeth, daughter of James Bowdoin, and in 1786 succeeded to a British baronetcy. Although extremely deaf he was very popular in the New York social world, and was noted for his elegant entertainments. The first British minister to the United States presented his credentials in October 1791.

III.

CLIMATE. PROVISIONS AND MARKETS. DRESS AND CUSTOMS. SOCIETIES.

THE healthfulness of the city in 1789 was especially brought to public notice with the object of persuading the Federal Government to fix upon New York as its permanent seat. On the 24th of June, the Gazette of the United States announced that during nearly three months' sitting of Congress but one of its members had fallen sick, and in September, an elaborate statement of the advantageous situation of the city in point of healthfulness appeared from the pen of Dr. John Bard, the leading physician at that time. He wrote as follows: "New York is justly esteemed one of the healthiest cities of the continent. Its vicinity to the ocean, fronted by a large and spacious bay; surrounded on every side by high and improved land covered with verdure and growing vegetables, which have a powerful influence in sweetening and salubrifizing the air and which often in their season salute the inhabitants settled on the west side of the Broadway with fragrant odours from the apple orchards and buckwheat fields in blossom on the pleasant banks of the Jersey shore in view of their delightful dwellings; the continual influx and reflux of two noble salt water rivers extending along each side of the town, which gives perpetual motion to the air; the inequality and descent of the ground on which the city stands, whereby most of the impurities left by the scavengers are washed by the rains into the rivers and there converted twice in every twenty-four hours by floods of salt water, which checks every putrid fermentation; furnished with good and wholesome water, and the markets supplied with the greatest plenty

and variety of every kind of fresh and wholesome provision which both the land and the sea afford. The salutary effects of all which are confirmed in the complexion, health and vigor of its inhabitants." Dr. Bard's sentences were constructed after a somewhat peculiar plan, but, if the longevity of the inhabitants of the city be taken as a test, the truth of his remarks was confirmed by the facts. Thus, on the 7th of November 1789, died Mrs. Johannah Vanbrugh Duyckink aged 92 years and 6 months; and—to take an example from the next generation—in the directory for 1789 there appears the name of Neal McKinnon, grocer, at No. 31 Wall Street, and in June 1816 there appeared a notice of the death of Neal McKinnon, aged 88 years, a follower of the immortal Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham in 1758. In some respects, however, Dr. Bard's statements were not altogether accurate. The breezes laden with the fragrant odors of New Jersey did not always blow. In August 1789 the heat was so great in the city that twenty deaths occurred in one week from that cause, aggravated by over-work and the drinking of too much cold water; perhaps an equally effective cause may be evolved from a newspaper statement that "Raw Rum has been found exceedingly pernicious in this extreme heat." The thermometer reached 88°, but, to afford some satisfaction to the overheated citizens, the newspapers promptly stated that in Philadelphia the thermometer stood at 96° for several days, that sixteen infants had been buried in that city on the first Sunday in July, and that the Mayor had ordered all the meat in the markets to be thrown into the Delaware by ten o'clock in the morning as unfit for use. This unusual mortality in New York, however, brought about the suppression of a nuisance in the form of the prolonged tolling of the church bells during funeral services and processions. One exasperated sufferer from this nuisance published an appeal to the Common Council on the subject in April 1789. He stated that, if the General Government was to be retained in New York, all nuisances should be abated and that the country members of Congress complained bitterly of the tolling of bells at funerals, but that neither wit, reason nor the petitions of physicians had

been able to stop it. His own thoughts on the subject were as follows: "When an usurer whose whole life has been a scene of extortion and avarice; when an old maid whose life has been devoured with spleen and consumed in useless solitude; when an old bachelor whose putrid carcase has long offended the senses, dies, their souls must be rung to eternity with peals of bell-metal thunder. If music has the same effect upon the soul as it has on the feet of a marching regiment, I would advise the relations to get the Assembly Band and start the corpse with a flourish of hautboys and drums. The weak, the sick, and the studious are much disturbed with the noise of bell-metal clappers, and all strangers feel it a nuisance; would it not be better to move the dead silently to the silent grave." In view of the increased mortality in August, on the 19th of that month, the Common Council passed an ordinance that after the first of September, bells should not be tolled until the funeral procession came in sight of the burying-ground, and that when it entered the ground such tolling should cease and should not be renewed; a fine of forty shillings was the penalty for disobeying the ordinance. A few days later a letter appeared in the Philadelphia newspapers stating that Philadelphians should not be troubled by the lies in the New York newspapers regarding the heat in Philadelphia, and that the New York Corporation had directed that no bells be rung on the death of any of the inhabitants, lest the members of Congress (already much alarmed by the late mortality) should immediately remove from the city. Nor was the climate of New York altogether agreeable in some other respects. In a letter written from Long Island in May 1789 by Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill, afterwards Professor in Columbia College and United States Senator, the climate was represented to be very moist, the weather very changeable, and the mud often deep. He writes: "That person would deserve the praises and rewards of his countrymen, who should contrive a cheap and easy kind of stuff for shoes, effectually capable of guarding against this kind of wet and cold; for wool and leather are insufficient." Dr. Mitchill lived to see this invention, as his death did not occur until 1831, and rub-

ber overshoes made their appearance in New York a few years before that time. Heavy snow also might be added to the disagreeable features of life in New York in 1789, for Washington records in his diary that on the 29th of November in that year "Being very snowy, not a single person appeared at the Levee." With regard to provisions afforded by the land, Dr. Bard was undoubtedly correct, as the New York markets have always been provided with the best of food, although in 1788 Brissot de Warville found the taste of the milk disagreeable because of the wild onions which were plentiful in the country and were eaten by the cows. He stated, however, that the vegetables, meat, and fish were wonderfully abundant and of good quality, although the fruit was inferior to that of Europe. A statement of Washington's household expenses during three months of the year 1789 may be taken to show the dishes which appeared on the tables of that day. Among its items were butcher's meat, bacon, tongue, geese, ducks, turkeys, chickens, birds, scale fish, lobsters, crabs, oysters, cured fish, eggs, cheese, bread, biscuit, cake, vegetables, butter, ice cream, preserves, fruit, melons, nuts, citrons, and honey. The wines included Madeira, Claret, Champagne, Cherry, Arrack, Spirits, Brandy, Cordials, Porter, Beer, and Cider. Among these, the item for Madeira was the largest, that for beer being next in amount. The teas which he used were hyson and bohea, the expenditure for both of them being less than that for coffee.

A notice of the death of Major Job Sumner at the City Tavern on the 16th of September 1789 might lead to the supposition that all of the fish to be found in New York markets were not of the first quality, as it is stated that he died of poison received from eating of a dolphin; but the dolphin was caught off Cape Hatteras and eaten on board ship, so that New York fish were in no way responsible for the misfortune. The markets in the city in 1789 were six in number, the oldest of them being the Fly Market, established in 1699 in the middle of Maiden Lane between Pearl and Water Streets and torn down in January 1822. On the 19th of March 1789 a committee of the Common Council was ap-

pointed to enlarge this market. The other markets were the Peck Slip, established in 1763 and demolished in 1793; the Bear, situated on the west side of Greenwich Street between Fulton and Vesey Streets, established in 1771 and torn down in 1813 at the time of the erection of Washington Market; the Oswego, in Maiden Lane at its junction with Broadway, established in 1772 and torn down in 1811; the New Market at Catherine Slip erected in 1786 nearly on the site of the present Catherine Market; and the Exchange, the fourth of that name which had been built in Broad Street, erected in 1788 on the Long Bridge leading from the Exchange to the river, and removed in 1814. The citizens carried home their own marketing, the delivery of it in carts not becoming a general custom until about the year 1820. By a city ordinance of September 1st 1784 no butcher was allowed to slaughter cattle elsewhere than at the slaughter-house erected at Corlear's Hook in July 1784, and the sale of provisions in the city was strictly regulated by ordinance. On the 19th of March 1789 the Common Council passed a market ordinance, repealing all former laws, by which it was enacted that every day except Sunday, from sunrise to sunset should be a market day and that such portions of the market as were not especially allotted to butchers, etc., should be occupied by country people. Ten shillings fine was the penalty for selling meat in the city without a license and for selling beef, mutton, pork or lamb in the public markets after one o'clock in the afternoon between the 30th of April and the 1st of November, except on Saturdays. Hucksters and retailers were subject to a like fine for buying provisions in the markets, to be sold again, before 11 A.M., or, in the case of flour and meal, before 4 P.M., the penalty for the latter offence being 5s. fine for each hundred-weight so bought. The fine for selling stale or unwholesome provisions or meat was forty shillings. No licensed butcher was to purchase, to be sold again, any dressed meat on its way to market, under penalty of 10s. fine per quarter. The market expenses were paid by the collection of 1s. 4d. for each four quarters of cattle killed and brought into market, 4d. for hogs, and 3d. for calf, sheep, and lamb. Country people

could sell meat by the quarter without paying a fee if it were actually raised on their own farms, and in smaller quantities at the same rate as butchers. This last provision, however, was construed by the country people to mean that they could not send their meat to market by their neighbors without paying a fee, and the consequence was that the best meat at times did not appear in the market, and after complaint by those who bought meat, the Common Council on the 1st of April explained that it was not intended to prevent the sending of meat by neighbors. The market fees from the 1st of February 1788 to the 1st of February 1789 amounted to £584 6d., one half of which sum formed part of the Mayor's salary.

The physical ailments of those who partook of the good cheer furnished by the New York markets are said by Brissot de Warville to have been bilious fevers, and colds caused by careless exposure, but he states that the healthfulness of the city rendered the medical profession unprofitable. The directory for 1789, however, contains the names of twenty-seven physicians, there being a number more whose names do not appear in it, and the Medical Society in that year, under the presidency of Dr. John Bard, had twenty-eight members. Dr. John Bard was the oldest physician in the city, having been born in Burlington, N. J., on the 1st of February 1716. He settled in New York in 1746, and died in Hyde Park, N. Y., March 30th 1799. In his snuff-colored suit during the week and scarlet coat on Sunday, he was one of the best known figures in the city. His son, Dr. Samuel Bard, born in Philadelphia on the 1st of April 1742, was also distinguished as a physician in 1789 and attended Washington during his illness in that year. He began to practice with his father in 1767 and continued in active service until 1798, when he retired to a farm in Hyde Park, and amused himself with agriculture. When the College of Physicians and Surgeons was founded in 1813 he became its first President and occupied that position until his death at Hyde Park on the 24th of May 1821. The following bill for services rendered by him in 1776 does not appear to be extortionate:

	To DOCTR. SAML. BARD,	Dr:
1776.		
Octobr. 6th.	A vomet 2/6. Spirit Sal. Volat. 2/6. haust. sud. 2/6. o. 7. 6.	
7.	Sud. drops. 4/ 9th. twelve doses Cortex, 18/	1. 2. o.
20.	Six doses Cort. p. 9/ 28. two Do. 3/ 29. Six Do. 9/	1. 1. o.
Decer. 2d.	Vomet. 2/6.	2. 6.
	Received the Contents in full,	2. 13. o.
	DOC. SAMUEL BARD,	
	JOS. DELA PLAINE, JUNR.	

The treatment here shown seems to have been fairly good as the victim lived until the 18th of May 1778.

Dr. Charles McKnight was also a well-known physician in 1789, having his office at No. 50 Smith Street. He was born in Cranbury, N. J., on the 10th of October 1750, his father being a minister whose church was burnt by Tories and himself thrown into prison where he died in 1778. Dr. McKnight was graduated from Princeton College in 1771 and acted as a surgeon in the American army during the Revolution, settling in New York after the war. He was eminent as a surgeon and was a professor in Columbia College from 1785 until his death on the 10th of November 1791. Among the other physicians in the city were Drs. Benjamin Kissam and Nicholas Romaine, both Professors in Columbia College, the office of the former being at No. 156 Queen Street and that of the latter on one of the corners of Nassau and John Streets; Dr. Richard Bailey, afterwards health officer of the port, No. 72 King (Pine) Street; Drs. Malachi Treat and J. R. B. Rodgers, No. 18 Little Queen (Cedar) Street; Dr. William Pitt Smith, No. 5 Beekman Street; Dr. James Tillary, No. 86 Broadway; and Dr. George C. Anthon, in Broad Street. Dr. Tillary was a Scotchman who came to New York at the beginning of the Revolution and was a prominent member of the St. Andrew's Society. He died in 1818 at about the age of sixty-seven years. Dr. Anthon was a German who came to America before the Revolution and settled in New York in 1784 and purchased his house in Broad Street from Alexander Hamilton in April 1789. He died in 1815 aged eighty-one years. Effingham Lawrence of No. 227 Queen Street was druggist and apothecary to the Medical Society, a committee

of which examined his store quarterly and certified that his drugs and medicines were genuine and faithfully prepared.

The luxury and ostentatious display of riches in the city, according to Brissot de Warville, were great and the inhabitants were followers of the English fashions. He considered the ladies to be especially extravagant in their dress. French fashions also were followed to some extent and were described from time to time in the newspapers for the benefit of New York society. Thus, in the N. Y. Gazette of May 15th 1789 several French costumes were described which may have been adopted by the ladies of the city. One was a plain celestial blue satin gown with a white satin petticoat. There was worn with it, on the neck, a very large Italian gauze handkerchief with satin border stripes. The head-dress with this costume was a pouf of gauze in the form of a globe, the creneaux or headpiece of which was made of white satin having a double wing, in large plaits, and trimmed with a large wreath of artificial roses which fell from the left at the top to the right at the bottom in front, and the reverse behind. The hair was dressed all over in detached curls, four of which fell on each side of the neck and were relieved behind by a floating chignon. Another costume was a perriot made of gray Indian taffeta with dark stripes of the same color, having two collars, one yellow and the other white, both trimmed with blue silk fringe, and having a reverse trimmed in the same manner. Under the perriot there was worn a yellow corset, or shapes, as it was then called, with large blue cross-stripes. Around the bosom of the perriot there was pinned a frill of ribbon or gauze cut in points around the edge. The hat worn with this costume was of white satin, with a broad band and two cockades. The newest costume consisted of a perriot and petticoat of gray striped silk trimmed with gauze cut in points. A large gauze handkerchief bordered with four satin stripes was worn with it on the neck, and the head-dress was a plain gauze cap such as was worn by nuns. Shoes were made of celestial blue satin with rose-colored rosettes. Ladies' muffs were of Siberian wolfskin adorned with a large knot of scarlet ribbon. The French gentlemen, for

undress, wore very long blue riding-coats with plain steel buttons, scarlet waistcoats, and yellow kerseymere breeches without embroidery. Their shoes were tied with strings, and above them were worn gaiters of black polished leather reaching nearly to the thigh. They wore very full muslin cravats with the ends tied in a large knot in front, and their muffs were made of bearskin with scarlet knots fastened upon them. The muff was probably not used by gentlemen in New York and they adopted English rather than French fashions. The New York ladies' hats were of such huge dimensions that a newspaper writer in 1789 suggested that a larger size of umbrella should be imported to protect them from the rain. Another writer also ridiculed the fashion of appearing to be dim-sighted and of using what he called a spy-glass at the theatre. The materials used for clothing included wildbores, cordurets, camblets, moreens, taboreens, callimancoes, durants, tammies, shalloons, rattinetsts, florentines, denins, velverets, romalls, lutestrings, duffils, fearnaughts, hairbines, osnaburgs, ticklenburgs, ribdelures, honeycomb thicksetts, dowlas, amens, casserillias, and plattillas. The men were more simple in their habits and still despised gewgaws, but at table made up for this simplicity by the use of the most expensive wines. One class of men seemed to be particularly obnoxious to Brissot. He writes: "Luxury is already forming in this city a very dangerous class of men, namely, the bachelors; the extravagance of the women makes them dread marriage." He also mentions with disapproval the universal habit of smoking; strong Spanish cigars six inches long being the material used in this revolting habit. He had the good grace to say, however, that it had the advantage of accustoming its votaries to practice the virtues of meditation and silence. His statement that an American travelled with only a comb, razor, two shirts and two cravats, was manifestly a libel, as a newspaper advertisement of a trunk lost in May 1789 describes its contents as consisting of a dark green coat with plain silver buttons, a green striped waistcoat, one pair of nankeen and one pair of black satin breeches, a pair of silver shoe and knee buckles, seven shirts, seven neckcloths, three pairs of white silk hose

and sundry pairs of thread hose. But in spite of this supposed simplicity of men's dress the dandy of 1789 was sufficiently gorgeous in his apparel. John Ramage, the miniature painter, a handsome man of middle age, wore a scarlet coat with mother-of-pearl buttons, a white silk waistcoat embroidered with colored flowers, black satin breeches with paste knee-buckles, white silk stockings, large silver buckles on his shoes, and a small cocked-hat on the upper part of his powdered hair, leaving the curls at his ears displayed. His costume was completed by a gold-headed cane and a gold snuff box. Artificial enhancement of the beauty of men's figures was also widely adopted, one means of which excited the wrath of a newspaper writer in November 1789. In an article denouncing what he was pleased to call a "bishop," this writer says: "The young ladies have totally laid aside all manner of deception; cork and wool are no more necessary in the dress of a fine woman, and, to the immortal honour of the ladies of New York, let it be here recorded that they have adopted the most natural and becoming fashions, this winter, that we have ever seen; whilst the young bucks and *petit-maitres* are metamorphosing themselves into *lusus naturae* and their tailors into upholsterers." John Shepherd, a tailor at No. 23 Hanover Square, advertised cloths of nearly one hundred different colors at 38s. a yard, with the exception of some high colors which were more expensive. Among these colors were bottle-green, batwing, navy blue, parson's gray, changeable pearl, scarlet, light blue, light green, London smoke, purple, mulberry, garnet, sea green, mouse's ear, pea green, and drake's head. Waistcoats were made of muslinet, dimity, cotton, silk, satin, gold and silver tambour muslin, satinet, and Princess stuff; the buttons used were gilt, silver, basket-brocaded and spangled. The cloths used were chiefly of English, French and Spanish manufacture, the latter being the most expensive, costing 45s. a yard. Casimirs were worth 18s. and rattinetts four shillings. Nathaniel Hazard, No. 51 Water Street, also advertised "American Woolens from the flourishing Manufactory at Hartford." Edward Moran, a tailor at No. 24 Smith (William) Street, was a modest man

and advertised that "As self-applause is commonly the unerring mark of ignorance and consequently disgusting, he declines it and only offers the following most reasonable terms:

MAKING

Plain coat, 15s.
Fashionable do. 16s.
Lappelled do. 17s.
Waistcoats made fashionable, 6s.
Silk and velvet breeches, 8s.
Jean, Nankeen, Corduroy, &c. do. 7s.
Double breasted surtout, 16s.
Great coat, 14s.
Ladie's Habit, fashionable, 16s."

Black satin breeches and striped silk vests could be bought ready-made for three dollars each. A beaver hat cost eight dollars and a castor hat six dollars. Boots and shoes could be obtained of Thomas Garnis, No. 72 Queen (Pearl) Street between Peck Slip and Cherry Street, who flattered himself that, having been used to work for the first nobility in England, he would be able to give satisfaction to those employing him. Men's boots cost six dollars, and ladies shoes one dollar and a half. Hair dressing, in the day of wigs and powdered hair, was a most important art, and one of those engaged in it was Charles McCann, at No. 40 Queen (Pearl) Street, who sold ladies' dress cushions at 16s., braids at from ten shillings to three dollars each, and ringlets at seven shillings a pair. For dressing a lady's hair every day he charged £15 a year or five shillings a time, while gentlemen were charged £8 a year if their hair were dressed every day, £5 10s. for four times a week, and £4, 10s. for three times a week. The chief perfumery store in the city was that of Nathaniel Smith at the Sign of the Rose, No. 187 Queen (Pearl) Street, where there could be obtained pomade de grasse for thickening the hair, vegetable face powder, almond paste for the hands, essences of bergamot, lavender, orange, and thyme, and nervous essence for the toothache. The best dentist in the city was John Greenwood, who in 1789 removed from No. 19 to No. 36 William Street. He offered a guinea apiece for live teeth,

transplanted natural teeth for four guineas, and furnished them on gold or silver plates for from two to five dollars each, artificial teeth made of different substances costing from one to two dollars. His office hours were from eight to eleven o'clock in the morning and from two to six o'clock in the afternoon, his advertisement making especial mention of the fact that he had a room set apart for the dentist business only. In 1789 Mr. Greenwood added to his reputation by making a full set of sea-horse teeth for Washington who is said to have had but one tooth of his own at that time. Mr. Greenwood's chief rival in 1789 was a M. Gardette, who came from Philadelphia in that year and adopted the plan of inserting long essays in the newspapers on the preservation of the teeth, as an advertisement. He also announced that he would pull teeth gratis for the poor from six to nine o'clock in the morning on Mondays and Thursdays, a plan which was also adopted by Mr. Greenwood.

The leading jewelers in the city were Francis Panton, No. 38 Wall Street, who also dealt in shell goods; Pearsall and Embree, No. 185 Queen (Pearl) Street; Bessonet and Merkler, at the Sign of the Dial No. 32 Maiden Lane; and William and John Mott, No. 240 Water Street, who in 1789 issued a business token made of copper, about the present size of a quarter of a dollar, with an advertisement on both sides.

The great merchants of the city sold largely on commission and their advertisements show a large variety of goods for sale. Thus, Robert Bowne and Co. offered hides, Madeira wine, lignum vitæ, boxwood, eighty sets of mahogany bedsteads, turpentine, varnish, lampblack, wax, sheet copper, anchors, beef, pork, butter, lard, hams, flour, rice, bolting cloths, and a variety of dry goods. It is said that the firm doing the largest business in the city was that of Shedden, Patrick and Co., general merchants at No. 206 Water Street. Other firms doing a large business were Gouverneur, Kemble & Co., No. 26 Front Street; Gelston and Saltonstall, No. 30 Burling Slip; and Murray, Mumford & Bowen, No. 20 Peck Slip. The prices in N. Y. currency of a few articles in mer-

chandise in 1789 were as follows, the dollar being worth eight shillings :

Bar Iron, £30 per cwt.	Sequin tea, 6s. 6d. per lb.
Pig Iron, £9 " "	Bohea " 2s. 5d. " "
Superfine Flour, 44s. per bbl.	Carolina tobacco, 3½d. to 5d.
Common " 40s. " "	Virginia " 4d. to 5d.
Wheat " 8s. " "	Ham, 7d. per lb.
Muscovado sugar, 50s. to 70s. per cwt.	Beef, 3½d. " "
Loaf sugar, 1s. 3d. per lb.	Madeira wine, £60 to £90 per pipe.
Butter, 7d. to 8d. " "	Port " £46 " "
Lard, 8d. " "	Lisbon " 5s. per gallon.
Coffee, 1s. 9d. " "	Teneriffe " 4s. " "
Chocolate, 13d. " "	Fayal " 3s. 3d. per gallon.
Cocoa, 70s.	Jamaica spirits, 4s. 9d. " "
Connecticut Pork, 72s.	Windward Island Rum, 4s. per gallon.
Hyson tea, 11s. to 12s. per lb.	Country Rum, 2s. 7d. per gallon.

The price of bread was regulated by the Common Council and in May 1789 was 6d. for a wheat loaf weighing 2 lbs. 1½ oz., and 3d. for a rye loaf weighing 1 lb. 8 oz.

By the city charter the right to trade in the city, except upon fair-days, was restricted to those who were freemen and by a city ordinance of March 9th 1784, all persons not born in the city or having served a seven years' apprenticeship in it, upon being made freemen were required to pay £5 to the Corporation in the case of merchants, traders and shopkeepers, and 20s. if they were handicraft tradesmen, in addition to 23s. 6d. fees to the city officers. Native born citizens and those who had served an apprenticeship were required to pay 8s. to the mayor, 7s. 6d. to the clerk, and 1s. each to the crier and bell-ringer of the mayor's court. The tradesmen of the city apparently looked after the enforcement of these provisions. as, in August 1789, one of them requested the editor of the Daily Advertiser to insert in his paper an extract from the city charter setting forth the restrictions upon trade. The treatment of apprentices was regulated by an Act passed February 6th 1788 by which it was provided that no master should compel his apprentice to sign any bond or make oath not to set up the same trade, under penalty of £40 fine. An infant

was to be bound only until twenty-one years of age, except in the case of binding for the payment of passage money, under which circumstances the age limit was extended to twenty-four years. On the other hand, an apprentice refusing to do his duty was to be committed to the Bridewell until willing to work, and those absenting themselves from work were to serve double the time of their absence or to make satisfaction in some other way.

Another important class in the community was that of the cartmen whose business was regulated by a city ordinance providing that no cartman, drayman or water carrier should sit upon and drive his cart, sled, dray or other carriage, nor drive his horse faster than a walk under a penalty of 6s. fine. The carts were to be two feet five inches wide between the foremost rungs and two feet nine inches wide between the hindmost rungs, and no more or less; the rungs were to be three feet eight inches high above the floor of the cart. Moving must have been a trial to the patience in 1789.

There was but little travelling done, and that little was accomplished with great discomfort. The general stage-office, during the greater part of the year, was at Fraunces' Tavern, No. 49 Cortlandt Street, whence stages left for Albany, Boston, and Philadelphia. The right to run a stage on the east side of the Hudson River from New York to Albany was a monopoly which, in April 1785, had been granted for ten years to Isaac Van Wyck, Talmage Hall, and John Kinney, the penalty for encroachment by others being £200 fine. The route to Albany was by the Bowery Lane and Kingsbridge Road to Kingsbridge and thence along the Hudson River. Stages left both ends of the route on Monday, Wednesday and Thursday, taking three days for the trip in summer and four or more in winter, a day's journey lasting from five o'clock in the morning until ten in the evening. The fare on all the stage routes was 4d. a mile, fourteen pounds of baggage being carried free, and the price for a passenger being charged for every extra 150 pounds of baggage. In 1786 a plan was made for a uniform charge at all the stage taverns on the roads to Albany and Boston, each person to pay for what he ordered, no

club being admitted unless with the consent of all the company. By this arrangement a breakfast cost 2s., dinner 2s. 9d., supper 2s., a single bed 1s., and a double bed 1s. 6d.; beefsteak could be had for 1s. 6d., chicken for 1s. 9d., and oysters from 6d. to 2s. as called for. Champaigne was to cost ten shillings, Madeira and Claret eight shillings, and Port and Sherry six shillings a bottle. The Boston stages left the city on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, by way of the Bowery Lane and Post Road to Harlem and thence eastward to Boston, making the journey in about six days by travelling from about three o'clock in the morning until ten at night. In October 1789 the Boston and Albany stage-office was removed to Mr. Isaac Norton's, No. 160 Queen (Pearl) Street.

Stages for Philadelphia left Paulus Hook twice every day except Saturday and Sunday when but one stage ran. From Paulus Hook there were two routes to Philadelphia, one by way of Newark and the other by way of the Blazing Star Tavern at Woodbridge. The fare through to Philadelphia was two dollars and the journey was made in about three days. These stages were drawn by four horses and could accommodate twelve passengers. Philadelphia could also be reached by taking the boat from the Albany Pier on Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, or Friday, to South Amboy, whence stages set forth at three o'clock the next morning alternately to Bordentown and Burlington, and thence boats went to Philadelphia "making the passage good the same day." Boats for New Brunswick, N. J., left Coenties Slip every Saturday morning, and, if the weather permitted, arrived there the same evening. The New Haven boats left Burling Slip. Stages for Jamaica, L. I., started from the ferryhouse at Brooklyn; and in March 1789 George O'Hara started a two-horse stage line from New York to Morristown by way of Paulus Hook and New-Ark, the trip taking from six o'clock in the morning until three o'clock in the afternoon, the fare being one dollar. The roads, in all directions were in the worst possible condition, and the danger of drowning in the rivers was great. If the traveller sought to escape the discomforts of stage journeying by going by boat, the time of starting and of reach-

ing his destination depended entirely upon the wind and weather. Thus, on the 26th of October 1788, Aaron Burr wrote to his wife from Albany after a journey from New York: "The headache with which I left New York grew so extreme, that finding it impossible to proceed in the stage, the view of a vessel off Tarrytown, under full sail before the wind, tempted me to go on board. We reached West Point that night, and lay there at anchor near three days. After a variety of changes from sloop to wagon, from wagon to canoe, and from canoe to sloop again, I reached this place last evening."

The merchants of the city had founded the Chamber of Commerce in 1768 and its charter had been confirmed in 1784. The fee for admission was five Spanish milled dollars; a quarterly payment of one dollar was also required, and a fine of one shilling was imposed for inexcusable absence from a usual meeting, two shillings for a special meeting, and four shillings for a quarterly meeting. Leaving the Chamber during a meeting was punished by a fine of one shilling, and failure to serve on the monthly committee by one of four shillings. The meetings were held at Bradford's Coffee House on the southeast corner of Wall and Water Streets. The officers of the Chamber of Commerce in 1789 were John Broome, president, and Theophylacte Bache and John Murray, vice-presidents. John Broome, the president, was born on Staten Island in 1738 and was noted as a politician as well as a merchant. He was an alderman from 1783 to 1785, city chamberlain in 1784, assemblyman in 1801, and 1802, state senator in 1803, and lieutenant governor in 1804, being re-elected to that office in 1810 but dying on the 8th of August in that year. Both Broome Street and Broome County were named after him. He was treasurer of the Chamber of Commerce in 1784 and its president from 1785 to 1794. Theophylacte Bache, was of English birth and came to New York in 1751. He was one of the organizers of the Chamber of Commerce in 1768, its president in 1773, and one of the incorporators of the Marine Society and of the New York Hospital. During the Revolution he was a Tory but resumed business after the war and was vice-president of the Chamber

of Commerce from 1788 to 1792. He was also president of the St. George's Society and for a number of years vestryman of Trinity Church. He died in 1807 at the age of seventy-three years. John Murray was born in Pennsylvania in 1737 and came to New York in early life. He was for many years an elder in the Wall Street Presbyterian Church and died in 1808. The value of the exports to foreign countries from the port of New York during the year 1788 was estimated to be about £770,000 or \$1,925,000, the most valuable exports being wheat, flour, flaxseed, potash, bread, furs, barrel-heads and staves, and raw hides. The exports for 1790 amounted to \$2,505,465. The duties collected on imports in 1789 amounted to \$145,329.56. The credit of American merchants, however, seems to have been very poor in Europe if a letter is to be believed which was written on the 29th of November 1788 by a firm in Bordeaux to one in New York, an extract from which read thus: "The trading part of the United States have lost every atom of their character and credit in Europe, so that if they want or wish to keep up a connexion with the old world they must turn honest from policy if not from principle; and, everything considered, we are really surprised at seeing them thus far so totally neglect the old English adage." Brissot de Warville also states that he heard many complaints regarding the double-dealing of American tradesmen, but he affirms that this trickiness was confined to the cities, and that such complaints arose chiefly from his own countrymen who claimed that they were treated less justly than were the English. He adds, moreover, that the Frenchmen whom he met in America spent their time in boasting of the services which France had rendered to the Americans and in sneering at the tastes and customs of the latter.

But one ship seems to have been built in New York in 1789, but there were American ships in those days which were carrying the American flag to all parts of the world, one Boston vessel being then on a voyage of circumnavigation of the globe, while in May 1789 a vessel returned to New York which had been the first to display the American flag in the River Ganges and to trade there. A merchant

vessel had gone to China several years previous, and a ship for that trade, finished in New York in October 1788, 102 feet keel and 706 tons burden, cost about £14,000. On the 3rd of October 1789 there were 117 vessels in New York harbor and during the year there entered the port 1107 sea vessels, of which 770 were American, 308 British, 11 Spanish, 8 Portuguese, 5 French, 3 Dutch, and 2 Swedish. On the 9th of April, navigation on the Hudson River was no longer impeded by floating ice. The principal wharfs in the city were on the East River and were known as the Albany Pier, on the east side of Coenties Slip; Exchange Slip, at the foot of Broad Street; Coenties Slip; Old Slip; Burling Slip; Beekman Slip, which was near the present end of Fulton Street; Peck Slip; New Slip, now called James Slip; Oliver's Slip; and Catherine Slip. By an Act passed April 17th 1784 no owner of a wharf was to charge more than 3s. a day wharfage for vessels between 60 and 100 tons burthen, 4s. 6d. for those between 100 and 200 tons, 5s. for those between 200 and 300 tons, 6s. for those between 300 and 500 tons, and 7s. 6d. for those over 500 tons. In the case of ships employed between ports in this State the wharfage could be agreed upon by the owner of the wharf and the master of the vessel. There were five ferries running from the city to New Jersey and Brooklyn, those on the Hudson River being that to Paulus Hook, now Jersey City, from the foot of Cortlandt Street, and the Hobuck ferry from the foot of Vesey Street, the former one and one quarter and the latter one and three quarters miles long. In July 1788 the Hobuck Ferry was leased to Charles F. Weissenfels for three years at £5 a year, and in April 1789 that to Paulus Hook was leased for the same term at £50 rent. Farther up the river were the Weehawken, Bull's, and Fort Lee ferries which were leased for from twenty to thirty shillings a year. The ferry to Elizabethtown from the foot of Whitehall Street was leased for £50 a year to Thomas Quigley, and in April 1789 the Common Council received a petition regarding the Staten Island ferry, which had apparently been discontinued. The ferries to Brooklyn, which consisted of a very few houses, were two in number, one from

the Fly Market stairs, and the other from Peck Slip. In March 1789 the Corporation published proposals to license six persons, during its pleasure, to run ferryboats to Brooklyn, seven pounds a month to be paid for the privilege of running two boats from the Fly Market, and £3 10s. for those from Peck Slip. Each boat was to be manned by two experienced watermen, to be furnished with four oars and two boat hooks, and to have the owners name and its number painted upon it in plain sight. Each person was to own one large boat for the carrying of horses, cattle, carriages, heavy freight, and passengers, and one small boat for passengers and light freight, four of each kind to run from the Fly Market and two of each kind from Peck Slip. No horned cattle were to be taken off or landed west of Catherine Slip. In April the Fly Market ferry was leased to four men, but there were no applicants for the Peck Slip Ferry. The rate of ferriage to Brooklyn was fixed by an Act passed on the 28th of February 1789 and was as follows: "Horse, with or without saddle, 10d.; ox, 1s. 3d.; other cattle, 1s.; coach body, 2s.; chaise, chair, or sulkey body, 9d.; passenger, 2d." The ferryman was to have a boat ready on each side of the river from at least half an hour before sunrise until eight o'clock in the evening, under a penalty of 10s. for failure so to do. The ferry house at Brooklyn belonged to the City and was rented by it for £155 a year. Accidents were frequent upon all the ferries and the time of starting and of arriving depended entirely upon the weather. The propulsion of vessels by steam power had been experimented upon by three inventors, and several successful trips had been made on the Potomac and Delaware by small boats fitted with an engine, but none had yet appeared in New York. John Fitch of Philadelphia had received from the New York legislature in March 1787 the sole right to make and use in the State of New York for fourteen years, a steamboat invented by him, which was propelled by six oars on each side worked by steam, but this grant was bitterly contested by James Rumsey, of Berkley Co., Virginia, who claimed priority of invention for a boat propelled by the re-action of water ejected from the stern by

steam. Mr. Fitch's boat attained a speed of about seven miles an hour, and that of Mr. Rumsey a speed of three miles an hour. Mr. John Stevens of Hoboken also claimed to have invented a boat on a different principle in January 1789, but this seems to have been similar to that of Mr. Rumsey. Mr. Fitch's first successful exhibition of his boat in New York is said to have taken place on the *Collect* in 1796.

The Marine Society, chartered April 12th 1770, was in 1789 under the presidency of James Farquhar, who held that office from 1786 until 1825,—a period of thirty-eight years and nine months. During the year 1789 the Society distributed the sum of £364 4s. 5d. among the widows and orphans of sailors.

The General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen had been founded on the 17th of November 1785 and in 1786 thirty trades were represented in it. Its initiation fee was \$2.50 and its object was the support of trade and charitable assistance to needy tradesmen. The various trades had their own societies, but sent delegates to the General Society, which looked after the interests of all. In 1789 the Society held its anniversary meeting on the 6th of January at Sam Fraunces' tavern, No. 49 Cortlandt Street, and indulged in a dinner at which one of the patriotic toasts was: "A cobweb pair of breeches, a porcupine saddle, a hard trotting horse, and a long journey to all the enemies of freedom." The officers elected at this meeting were, chairman, Anthony Post, carpenter; deputy chairman, James Bramble, whitesmith; treasurer, Wm. J. Elsworth, pewterer; and secretary, John McComb, jr. During the year the Society resolved to take no part, as such, in politics, and it was also decided to petition the Legislature to incorporate it, but the act of incorporation was not passed until March 14th 1792 at which time the Society had over two hundred members.

The Peruke-makers Society held its anniversary dinner on the 2nd of January 1789 at the house of Wm. Ketchum, and responded heartily to the toast: "May contempt be the fate of such among us as struts in foreign foppery to the destruction of American trade and manufactures." The Society of Master

Bakers also had its first anniversary dinner at the house of Lawrence Heyer on the 26th of September 1789. The most interesting commercial event, however, in 1789 was the formation of the New York Society for the Encouragement of American Manufactures. In October 1774 Congress had passed a resolution advising the non-importation of British goods so far as was possible, and as soon as the war was ended, efforts were made to start American manufactures, of which efforts Washington was a strong supporter, expressing the hope that clothing of American material would be used altogether, and approving of a protective tariff provided that it should not interfere with the interests of the agricultural portions of the community. Manufacturing Societies were accordingly formed in the larger cities and every item of news regarding their progress was heralded with enthusiasm. Thus, when it was announced in October 1789, that the ship Massachusetts had been provided with all her canvas from the factory at Boston, the newspaper editors burst into song and published the lines:

“ Old ocean soon shall fleets behold,
Eclipsing all in story told.
See commerce spread the swelling sail!
See our own canvass catch the gale!
And waft to earth's remotest shores,
Th' exub'rance of our boundless stores.”

The promoters of the N. Y. Manufacturing Society met at Rawson's Tavern, No. 82 Water Street, on the 7th of January 1789 and chose as officers,

President, MELANCTHON SMITH.
Vice-President, WHITE MATLACK.
Treasurer, EZEKIEL ROBINS.
Secretary, CORNELIUS COOPER.
Standing Committee.

HENRY POPE.
WHITE MATLACK.
EZEKIEL ROBINS.

HENRY TEN BROEK.
JOHN VAN DYCK.
JACOB HALLETT.

Early in February another meeting was held at which it was unanimously resolved to raise a fund by subscription for the

establishment of a woollen factory, the shares to be £10 each, the pious promoters of the scheme adding that the blessing of heaven would be called down upon the city by thus furnishing employment to the poor. On the 17th of February a notice headed "The Test of Patriotism" announced that so many subscriptions had been received that a meeting would be held on the 23rd to choose a committee to draw up a constitution, and by the 17th of March £2100 had been subscribed by 187 persons among whom were included the most prominent men in the city. On the 18th of March a constitution was adopted and on the 26th of that month the following twelve directors and treasurer were chosen,

WILLIAM MAXWELL.

NICHOLAS CRUGER.

WHITE MATLACK.

JACOB HALLETT.

JAMES WATSON.

JOHN LAWRENCE.

JOHN MURRAY, jr.

JAMES RENWICK.

MATTHEW CLARKSON.

WILLIAM W. GILBERT.

JAMES NICHOLSON.

HENRY TEN BROEK.

Treasurer, ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

On the 6th of April the Society advertised for a manager for its factory, and on the 30th of May it was announced that hatchelled flax, tow, and yarn, could be obtained at the factory, No. 21 Crown (Liberty) Street. On the 3rd of April the Common Council had appointed a committee to negotiate for the sale of the barracks to the Society, but nothing seems to have resulted from the negotiation as the Society's property apparently consisted only of its factory and a bleaching ground at Second River, N. J., which in July was ready to receive linen and yarn for bleaching. On the 13th of July it was advertised that a person who had in miniature all the machinery for manufacturing cotton cloth would give instruction in the art if it were made worth his while, but whether the Society availed itself of his services or not does not appear. A Mr. Stevenson apparently had charge of the factory, which was in running order by the 26th of November and on the 22nd of December was employing 14 weavers and 130 spinners. It is said that the Manufacturing Society invested £900 in build-

ing and £1400 in machinery, but it did not prove a success, and, although incorporated on the 16th of March 1790, it languished for a number of years and finally the investment proved a total loss to those interested in it. In May 1789 subscriptions were also solicited by Abraham Wilson, at No. 89 William Street, for the establishment of a factory of earthen and cream-colored ware, and in the latter part of the year it was announced that such a factory had been established on the property formerly known as Vauxhall. The profits, however, from this business do not appear to have been great, for in 1790 Mr. Wilson applied to the Legislature for assistance and received a loan of £1500 from the State.

The only bank in the city in 1789 was the Bank of New York, established in 1784 and at first situated in the Walton Mansion, No. 156 Queen Street, whence it was moved in 1787 to a house, No. 11 Hanover Square, purchased from the heirs of Nathaniel Hazard in 1784. It occupied these premises for ten years, being again moved in 1797 to the northeast corner of Wall and William Streets. The bank officers elected on the 11th and 12th of May 1789 were

President, ISAAC ROOSEVELT.

Vice-President, WILLIAM MAXWELL.

Cashier, WILLIAM SETON.

Directors.

NICHOLAS LOW.

ROBERT BOWNE.

JOSHUA WADDINGTON.

SAMUEL FRANKLIN.

DANIEL MCCORMICK.

THOS. B. STOUGHTEN.

THOMAS RANDALL.

WILLIAM CONSTABLE.

COMFORT SANDS.

WILLIAM EDGAR.

JOHN MURRAY.

The bank was open every day except Sundays, Christmas, New Year's, Good Friday, Fourth of July, and special holidays appointed by law, the hours of business being from ten to one in the forenoon and from three to five in the afternoon. Discounts were made twice a week at seven per cent., and for not longer than thirty days. A petition to the State Senate was drawn up on the 3rd of July 1789 praying that the Bank might be incorporated, as the liability of individual ownership pre-

vented its growth; but, although a bill for its incorporation was introduced by Mr. Duane on the 16th of July 1789, it was not chartered until 1791. It was the only bank in the city until 1799 when that of the Manhattan Company was established. The money used in 1789 was in pounds, shillings, and pence, in New York currency, the dollar, which was worth eight shillings, being merely money of account by which the other was measured. The greatest difficulty was experienced with the copper pence, which varied in value in the different States and became so depreciated in value as to be refused in trade. On the 21st of July 1789 the Common Council recommended that these coins be received at the rate of forty-eight to the shilling, owing to their importation from other States where their value was less than in New York. On the 6th of August, however, Alderman Wool found it necessary to expressly deny that he had made Jersey coppers since April 15th 1788, and to state that those he then made were in conformity to law. In 1790 the trouble became so great that the Corporation issued tickets for small amounts in exchange for shillings, which could be redeemed for silver at the City Treasury in sums of more than five shillings. The dollar, dime, and cent, were adopted in New York by an Act passed January 27th 1797.

Isaac Roosevelt, the president of the bank, was a sugar refiner whose place of business was at No. 159 Queen (Pearl) Street, nearly opposite the Walton mansion. He had been a member of the Provincial Congress from 1775 to 1777, and of the Committee of Safety; was one of the delegates to the Poughkeepsie Convention in 1788, and a State Senator from 1777 until 1792, with the exception of the year 1787. In 1779, 1784, and 1791 he was a member of the Council of Appointment. He was president of the Bank from 1786 until 1791 and died in October 1794 at the age of sixty-eight years. The death of his wife in 1789 caused Washington to make the following entry in his diary, on the 15th of October, of reasons for not attending her funeral, "first, because the propriety of accepting any invitation of this sort appeared very questionable, and secondly, (though to do it in this instance

might not be improper,) because it might be difficult to discriminate in cases which might thereafter happen."

William Maxwell, the vice-president of the Bank, had been engaged in business in New York before the Revolution and died in the city in February 1792. William Seton, the cashier, was born in Scotland in 1746, and, coming to America in early life, carried on a shipping and importing business until his death in 1798. He was cashier of the Bank from the time of its establishment until 1794.

There was also but one insurance company in the city in 1789, called the Mutual Assurance Company against Fire, which had its beginning on the 3rd of April 1787 when 24 members signed a deed of settlement drawn by Alexander Hamilton. On the 10th of May 1787 the company was organized by the election of three trustees, John Pintard being appointed secretary, and William Maxwell treasurer. No insurance was to be made upon gilding, historical or landscape paintings, stucco or carving, nor were they to be replaced if destroyed. Until 1798 no buildings were insured at a greater distance than two miles from the City Hall. In 1787 the company also adopted as a badge an oval tin plate, painted black, with the words "Mutual Assurance" and a number in gilt, which was placed on the houses insured until 1809 when the company was incorporated as the Mutual Insurance Company of the City of New York, which in 1845 became the Knickerbocker Fire Insurance Company. The rate of insurance, in 1789, on frame houses with brick or stone fronts and the sides filled in with brick, was £9 5s. for £500 insurance for seven years, and, if it was found that the premiums were sufficient to pay losses and expenses, £7 were to be returned at the end of the seven years, making the insurance for that time £2 5s. Losses were to be paid or the premises repaired within ninety days after the adjustment of the loss. The originator of the Mutual Assurance Company was John Pintard, who was born in New York in 1759 and died on the 21st of June 1844, after a long life active in all good works. After graduation from the College of New Jersey in 1776 he served as a soldier in the American army and was for several years a clerk to his uncle Lewis

Pintard who was Commissioner for American Prisoners in New York. For a time he was editor of the N. Y. Daily Advertiser, was appointed City Inspector in 1804, assisted in the establishment of the first Savings Bank in 1819, was one of the organizers of the American Bible Society and of the Theological Seminary of the Episcopal Church, took a great part in the establishment of schools in the city, and was one of the chief promoters of the construction of the Erie Canal. In 1789, when one writer described him as "a singular mixture of heterogeneous particles," he was already agitating the subject of the formation of an antiquarian society, but this project was not executed in New York until 1804 when the N. Y. Historical Society was founded through his efforts. He was secretary of the Assurance Company from 1787 until 1792, William Maxwell being its treasurer during the same period. In 1789 the office of the Company was at No. 57 King (Pine) Street.

The national societies in the city in 1789 were four in number, their object being the promotion of the interests of fellow-countrymen and the rendering of charitable assistance to those in distress. The St. Andrew's Society had been formed in 1756 and revived in 1784, and during the year 1789 received twelve new members. Its officers, elected in December 1788 were :

President, HON. ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Vice-Presidents, WILLIAM KERR and WILLIAM MAXWELL.

Treasurer, ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Chaplain, REV. DR. JOHN MASON.

Physician, JAMES TILLERY.

Secretary, ROBERT LENOX.

Managers.

HAY STEVENSON.

ALEXANDER J. HAMILTON.

ANDREW MITCHELL.

WILLIAM WILSON.

JAMES RENWICK.

JOHN TURNER.

The English residents of the city had had an association before the Revolution, but the St. George's Society dates from 1786 when it had 78 members. In 1789 its officers were :

President, THEOPHYLACTE BACHE.

Vice-President, WILLIAM SETON.

Asst. Vice-President, JOSHUA WADDINGTON.

Sec'y and Treasurer, JOHN WILKES.

Stewards.

GERARD WALTON.

JOHN DELAFIELD.

JOHN BERRY.

SAMUEL CORP.

JOHN EVERS.

During the year 1789 this Society received 14 new members. The Queen's Birthday was celebrated in New York on the 19th of January 1789 by an entertainment given by Sir John Temple, the British consul-general.

The St. Patrick's Society in 1789 was under the direction of William Constable, president; Alexander Macomb, vice-president; Hugh Gaine, treasurer; and Robert R. Waddell, secretary.

Its Council consisted of:

JOHN SHAW.

SAMPSON FLEMING.

CARLISLE POLLOCK.

THOMAS ROACH.

WILLIAM EDGAR.

OLIVER TEMPLETON.

THOMAS BEEBE.

GENERAL MAUNSEL.

William Constable, the president of the Society was one of the leading merchants of the city. He was the son of John Constable, a physician who died in New York on the 17th of April 1785 at the age of 57 years. William Constable was born in Dublin on the 1st of January 1752, received his education at Trinity College, Dublin, and coming to America served as an aide-de-camp to Lafayette during the Revolution. After the war he settled as a merchant in Philadelphia but soon removed to New York and entered into business upon capital furnished in part by Robert and Gouverneur Morris who became his partners. He died in New York on the 22nd of May 1803 and was buried in St. Paul's churchyard, where also repose the remains of his father, mother, and wife. The St. Patrick's Society celebrated the 17th of March 1789 by a dinner at the City Tavern, "and the other gentlemen of that nation (as is customary) feasted on Codfish and Potatoes, the dish usually provided for the day, in large companies."

The German Society was organized on the 4th of October

1784; the initiation fee being two dollars and a half. Its officers in 1789 were :

President, FREDERICK WILLIAM VON STEUBEN.

Vice-President, REV. DR. KUNZE.

Treasurer, DAVID GRIM.

Secretary, WILLIAM WILMERDING.

2nd Secretary, JOHN L. MERKEL.

Solicitor, GEORGE GILFERT.

Assistants.

DR. GEORGE C. ANTHON.

JOHN H. LEUCKER.

HENRY ARCULARIUS.

HENRY OERTLEY.

JOHN H. BRAND.

CHRISTIAN SCHULTZ.

JOHN TILLMAN.

In 1789 the Society had 99 members, who displayed their good citizenship at their annual meeting on the 7th of January 1789 by unanimously resolving to unite in encouraging American manufactures in preference to those of other countries. On the 11th of November the Society celebrated its anniversary by marching from the Lutheran school house to the German church in William Street where prayer was offered by Dr. Kunze, an oration in German was delivered by William Wilmerding, and one in English by Edward Livingston. The company then adjourned to Fraunces' Tavern in Courtlandt Street and partook of a dinner in company with the officers of the St. George's, St. Patrick's, and St. Andrew's Societies.

The Masonic Lodges in the city in 1789 were eight in number :

St. John's No. 2, met at the Coffee House. JACOB MORTON, *master*.

Independent Royal Arch, No. 8.

GEORGE GARLAND, "

St. Andrew's Lodge, No. 169.

WHITE MATLACK, "

Lodge No. 210.

THOMAS THOMAS, "

St. Patrick's, No. 212.

HENRY LUDLAM, "

St. John's, No. 4.

ARNOUT CANNON, "

Grand Lodge, No. 5.

JOHN MARTIN, "

Holland Lodge, met at Sam Fraunces' Tavern. R. J. VANDENBROCK, "

Among the officers of the Grand Lodge of the State of New York were Robert R. Livingston, grand master; Peter

McDougall, senior grand warden; Jacob Morton, grand secretary; White Matlack, grand treasurer; and Rev. Dr. Abram Beach, chaplain. On the 25th of June ten Masonic Lodges celebrated the Festival of St. John in the city by marching from the Coffee House to St. Paul's Chapel where a sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Beach, an anthem written by Brother Samuel Low of Holland Lodge was sung by the Musical Society to music composed by Mr. Phila, and a collection was taken for the benefit of the Manumission Society. The first verse of the anthem composed by Mr. Low was :

“ From regions of immortal bliss above,
Impart thy genial emanations, *Love!*
Soul of our Order! Patron of this day!
Inspire our hearts and prompt the solemn lay.”

From the church the lodges proceeded to a collation at the City Tavern.

Purely social clubs had not yet gained a firm root in the city and the only one publicly mentioned in 1789 was the Black Friars Society, founded November 10th 1784, with a Father, Chancellor, Cardinals and Priors. Among its members in 1789 were Josiah Ogden Hoffman, Benjamin Graves, John Stagg, Dr. James Tillery, Bernard Hart, Dr. Benjamin Kissam, Richard Harwood, John Fisher and Oliver Glean. On the 9th of May this society held a festival at the Friary, dinner being served at half-past four, and on the 10th of November its anniversary was celebrated by an oration by Dr. Tillery and a dinner at which eleven toasts were drank including one to “The Fair Daughters of Columbia—may they ever find a friend in a Friar.” This society, which was organized for charitable as well as social purposes, met twice a month at the Friary, No. 56 Pine Street, and continued to exist until the year 1800.

The social amusements of the wealthier class of citizens consisted chiefly in occasional balls, tea parties, and visits to the tea-gardens in the vicinity of the city. Brissot de Warville writes : “ As in England, tea forms the basis of the prin-

cial parties in this city. It is to tea that a stranger is invited; it is tea that you go to drink in the beautiful garden of M. Cummings, the Florida Garden of New York. It is situated on the North River and the view is charming." This garden in May 1789 passed into the hands of George Leaycraft, its former proprietor George Cummings then opening a porter house at the Fly Market. Other popular gardens were Perry's on the west side of the present Union Square, and Williamson's on the east side of Greenwich Street above the present Harrison Street. Private carriages were few in number, although elegant in equipment, and expeditions to the suburbs were chiefly made in conveyances hired from one of the six livery stables in the city or at the coach stand at the Coffee House. Charles and James Warner, whose stable was at No. 9 Great George Street, advertised coaches, phaetons, chairs, sulkeys, and saddle horses for hire. The coach fare was one shilling for each passenger to any point within one mile of the City Hall, and three shillings an hour for waiting in the city. To go to the two mile stone and around by Cummings' Garden cost six shillings for a party, and two shillings for each hour that the coach was detained. The fare to Harlem for the day was thirty-eight shillings, and to Kingsbridge, forty shillings. The fare for shorter rides was for Horn's tour, 8s.; Lake's tour, 10s.; to Murray's for half a day, 14s.; to Gracey's tavern, 16s.; and to Apthorp's, 16s. In June 1789 a pair of dark bay horses, 14 hands 3 inches high, one five and the other seven years old, well broken to carriage or saddle were offered for sale for £80, and a bay saddle horse 15½ hands high, five years old, was offered for thirty guineas.

The fashionable balls of the time may be judged of from a description, taken from Griswold's *American Court*, of one given, on the 14th of May 1789, in honor of Washington by Comte de Moustier, the French ambassador: "After the President came, a company of eight couple formed in the other room and entered, two by two, and began a most curious dance called *En Ballet*. Four of the gentlemen were dressed in French regimentals and four in American uni-

forms ; four of the ladies with blue ribbons round their heads and American flowers, and four with red roses and flowers of France. These danced in a very curious manner, sometimes two and two, sometimes four couple and four couple, and then in a moment all together, which formed great entertainment for the spectators, to show the happy union between the two nations. Three rooms were filled and the fourth was most elegantly set off as a place for refreshment. A long table crossed this room from wall to wall. The whole wall inside was covered with shelves filled with cakes, oranges, apples, wines of all sorts, ice creams, etc., and highly lighted up. A number of servants from behind the table supplied the guests with everything they wanted, from time to time, as they came in to refresh themselves, which they did as often as a party had done dancing and made way for another. We retired about ten o'clock, in the height of the jollity." The refreshments served to the guests upon these occasions are probably enumerated with tolerable fulness in the advertisement of Adam Pryor, Federal Confectioner, who in May 1789 removed from Broadway to No. 59 Wall Street. This sets forth the sale of coriander, caraway, almond, and cinnamon comfits ; burnt almonds, barley sugar, peppermint, orange, lemon, cinnamon and hartshorn drops ; pastry, jellies, blanch-mange, whip-syllabub, floating island, rocky island, pound cake for weddings, and brandy preserves. As the English fashions in dress then prevailed in New York some of the costumes at balls possibly resembled in some degree those worn at a magnificent entertainment given in London on the 4th of June 1789 in honor of the King's birthday. On that occasion Queen Charlotte's gown was of a lilac ground covered with crape embroidered in green, and flounced with five rows of deep lace, with about thirty large diamond buttons and tassels fastened on the petticoat. Her stomacher was wholly of brilliants and her head dress was of blonde lace ornamented with diamonds and two small feathers. The Princess Royal wore a bodice and train of red and white striped gauze, and a white petticoat covered with a crape embroidery of green and silver. Her shoes were of white satin covered with silver and steel

beads, with a plate of silver in the form of a shield running toward the toe, while around the quarters was a deep spangled silver fringe. Other ladies were principally dressed in white trimmed with blue and having fringes of gold and silver, while around their heads were fillets bearing inscriptions complimentary to the King. The Prince of Wales was clad in a corbeau and blue striped silk coat and breeches, the latter with silver embroidery down the seams, and an embroidered waistcoat of silver tissue. The other gentlemen wore embroidered cloth and silk suits with cut steel buttons. In one respect the New York entertainments were far inferior to those given in London. M. de Moustier's servants between the table and the wall sink into complete insignificance when compared with the hundred valets in scarlet coats lined with blue, and blue waistcoats embroidered with gold, and the hundred footmen in sky-blue coats and waistcoats adorned with silver lace, who waited on the company at an entertainment given by the Spanish Ambassador in England on the 2nd of June 1789 in celebration of George the Third's recovery of his mind.

Fashionable society in New York in 1789 seems to have consisted of about three hundred persons, as that number attended a ball on the 7th of May at which Washington was present. But according to Noah Webster, the city was noted for sociability and lack of class distinction. He writes in 1788: "In point of sociability and hospitality, New York is hardly exceeded by any town in the United States. The principal families by associating in their public amusements with the middle class of well-bred citizens render their rank subservient to the happiness of society, and prevent that party-spirit which an affectation of superiority in certain families in Philadelphia has produced in that city,—a spirit which disturbs or destroys their public amusements, and which has given the citizens, too generally perhaps, the reputation of being *inhospitable*." In a note stating that the general character of citizens in large towns is affected, in some measure, by the manners of the prevailing sect or nation, he adds: "The neatness, industry and parsimony of the Dutch, were

the characteristics of the citizens of New York before the revolution, and will probably be visible in their manners a long time after national distinctions are lost."

The amusements of those whom Mr. Webster would probably have designated as the lower classes do not seem to have received much attention from the old chroniclers. Perhaps some idea of them may be gained from a law passed March 1st 1788 by which tavern-keepers were made subject to fine and imprisonment should they allow cock-fighting, gaming, card-playing, dice, billiard tables or shuffle boards in their houses. From this it would appear that the frequenters of the taverns, who composed a large portion of the community, were at some time addicted to these amusements. Gambling with dice or cards was an amusement among all classes of the community, a game with cards, called Pharaoh, being the most popular means of the transfer of money. Other popular games of cards were whist, loo, and quadrille. An Act passed February 20th 1788 punished the winner of more than £10 at a sitting by a forfeit of five times the amount won, while either the winner or loser of £10 at a time or £20 in twenty-four hours might be indicted and fined five times the amount won or lost. Winners by fraud and deceit were to receive corporal punishment. Drunkenness was another popular failing which was punished by three shillings fine or two hours imprisonment in the stocks, such a conviction being without appeal. By an Act of March 1st 1788 a license to retail liquor in the city was to cost not less than forty shillings nor more than £20 in the discretion of a commissioner, to be appointed by the Governor and Council of Appointment, who was to give permits to sell in quantities less than five gallons for one year and to receive a salary of £60 instead of fees. Applicants for license were required to give a bond of £50 not to keep a disorderly house, and any innkeeper who gave credit for liquor to a larger amount than ten shillings was to lose the debt. The Excise Commissioner in 1789 was William W. Gilbert who collected £1028 5s. 4d. during the year, of which £800 was given to the Hospital. In September 1784 the number of taverns was so great that the Grand Jury

recommended that fewer be licensed, but in 1789 there appear in the directory the names of 169 tavern and lodging-house keepers, and there appear to have been nearly twice that number in the city, as between the 1st of March 1788 and the first of March 1789, there were granted 330 tavern licenses at thirty shillings each, of which six shillings went to the Mayor and six shillings to the City Clerk. A few of the more prominent tavernkeepers in 1789, besides Edward Bardin who kept the City Tavern, were Samuel Fraunces, the steward of Washington, whose tavern at No. 49 Cortlandt Street was managed by his wife; John Fraunces, who opened the True American in August 1785 at No. 3 Great Dock (Pearl) Street, whence he removed in May 1789 to the historic building on the southeast corner of Broad and Pearl Streets; and John Simmons, whose tavern was on the northwest corner of Wall and Nassau Streets, and who was a man of such bulk that, at the time of his funeral, the pier between the door and window of the house had to be torn out to allow the passage of his coffin. Others were Aaron Aorson, corner of Nassau and George (Spruce) Streets, who had been a captain in the revolutionary army and was present at the death of General Montgomery at Quebec; Jonathan Pearsec, No. 28 Nassau Street corner of Ann Street; John Battin, corner of Nassau and John Streets; George Rawson, No. 82 Water Street; Widow Bradford, at the Coffee House on the southeast corner of Wall and Water Streets; and Richard Varian, at the Bull's Head Tavern on the Bowery Lane. The price of board in the city was made an object of attack by "A Traveller" in May 1789, who asserted that it was twice as high as in Philadelphia, which was owing, in part, to the fact that New York was only about one half as large as Philadelphia. He further asserted that this was a good reason why Congress should reside in the latter rather than in the former city, as it should be remembered that the board of the congressmen was paid out of the common treasury to which every citizen of the United States contributed his share. This was followed by a card in another newspaper warning the boarding-house keepers that they were injuring themselves and the city by

charging too much and causing congressmen to consider themselves imposed upon. The other side of the matter was then shown by a denial that board was higher than elsewhere, as it ranged from seven to three dollars a week and one of the houses furnished from seven to nine dishes a day, with four sorts of liquor.

Servants could be obtained from the Intelligence Office of William Cavenough at No. 22 Great Dock Street, but those in the wealthier families were negro slaves, whose lot was by no means a hard one. The treatment of them was regulated by an Act passed February 22nd 1788 which provided that every negro, mulatto, or mestee who was a slave at that time should remain so for life, unless manumitted, and that the children of slave women should be slaves. Selling any slave brought into the State after the 1st of June 1785 was punishable by a fine of £100 and the freeing of the slave, and a person buying a slave with the intention of removing him from the State or acting in such manner as agent for another was subject to a like penalty. Employing, or harboring a slave without his master's permission was forbidden under a penalty of £5 for every twenty-four hours he was detained up to his value, and if the slave were lost the person harboring him was liable for his value. No one could trade with a slave, without his master's permission, under penalty of forfeiting £5 and three times the value of the goods traded, while selling liquor to a slave, without the owner's permission, was punishable by forty shillings fine. The negroes, however, seem to have found means of obtaining liquor, as appears by an advertisement in February 1789: "To be sold for no other fault than a little Intoxication, a Negro Fellow, aged 20 years, expert at waiting and every kind of House-Work." Advertisements for runaway slaves and warnings against harboring them were also of frequent occurrence. A slave striking a white person was to be tried as for petit larceny, and his right to a trial by jury was confined to capital cases; slaves could only be witnesses in criminal cases for and against each other. Persons collusively selling aged and decrepit slaves to those unable to support them were liable to a fine of £20 and were still to be

regarded as owners, while allowing a slave to beg was to be punished by a fine of £10. A slave under fifty years of age could be manumitted upon a certificate from the Mayor, Recorder, and two Aldermen, that he appeared to be under fifty years of age and capable of supporting himself; but in all other cases the manumittor had to give security that the slave would not become a charge upon the city. Those set free by will were to be considered free, but if no certificate or security were given, the estate of the former owner was to be liable for their maintenance. For the benefit of this portion of the population there was formed about the year 1785, chiefly by Quakers, the Society for promoting the Manumission of Slaves, the officers of which in 1789 were :

President, JOHN JAY.

Vice-president, HARTFIELD CLARKSON.

Treasurer, JOHN MURRAY, JR. .

Secretary, JOHN KEESE.

Standing Committee.

LEONARD M. CUTTING.

ANDREW LOW.

THOMAS BURLING.

EFFINGHAM EMBREE.

MELANCTHON SMITH.

JOHN LAWRENCE.

The society was incorporated in 1808. In November 1786 it added to its good work by establishing a free school for the children of slaves still in bondage, provided that they had reached the age of nine years and were capable of spelling words of one syllable. This school proved to be very successful, having, after the first six months of its existence, from forty to sixty scholars in regular attendance, but in October 1789 it was in need of funds.

IV.

CHURCHES AND CLERGY.

By the constitution of the State of New York, adopted in 1777, clergymen were declared to be ineligible to hold any civil or military office or place in the State, as they were "by their profession dedicated to the service of God and the cure of souls, and ought not to be diverted from the great duties of their function." Subsequent to the Revolution the most important enactments which had been made with regard to religious matters were an Act passed April 6th 1784 enabling all denominations to appoint trustees for their churches, and an Act passed April 20th 1784 repealing colonial laws compelling the inhabitants of the counties of New York, Richmond, Westchester, and Queen's to pay taxes for the support of the Episcopal clergy "contrary to every principle of justice and sound policy," by color of which laws it had been pretended that the Episcopal churches had been established in those counties. The laws regarding the observation of the Sabbath were strict. Labor or sale of goods on Sunday was punishable by a fine of ten shillings, and no persons were to meet in the streets and there play or make a noise under a penalty of two shillings fine, or in default of that payment, of one hour's imprisonment in the Bridewell. No innkeeper was to sell liquor on Sunday to any persons but travellers or regular lodgers, nor was he to allow drunkenness in his house at any time under penalty of twenty shillings fine. Two constables, armed with their staves, were to walk the streets during the time of divine service and cause this law to be observed, with full power to enter inns and report tippling. This law, however, was doubtless evaded so far as the taverns were concerned, and on the 23rd of May 1789 a citizen com-

plained because the theatre was allowed to be kept open on Saturday evening and the streets were crowded with playing children on Sunday evening. Swearing was punishable by a fine of three shillings, and in default of immediate payment the offender, if more than sixteen years of age, could be imprisoned in the stocks for one hour for each offence or two hours for a number of offences committed at the same time. Such a conviction was without appeal.

The city churches in 1789 were twenty-two in number, representing thirteen denominations, viz: Reformed Dutch, Protestant Episcopal, French Huguenot, Quaker, Lutheran, Jewish, Presbyterian, Baptist, Moravian, German Reformed, Methodist, Roman Catholic, and Independent Congregational.

Of these, that known as the Collegiate Reformed Protestant Dutch Church was, and now is, the oldest in the city, having been organized in the year 1628. Its government was, and now is, by a consistory of twelve elders and twelve deacons who elected their own successors,—generally themselves,—the members of the church having no part in its government. In October 1764 Abel Hardenbrook, a church member, had brought suit against the Consistory for the purpose of establishing his right to vote for church officers, but had been entirely defeated. The action was tried in the Supreme Court on the 26th of April 1765 and after a trial of twenty-one hours the jury were directed to bring in a special verdict upon matters of fact. Their names were Samuel Verplanck, John H. Cruger, David Clarkson, Robert Griffin, Lawrence Kortright, Beverly Robinson, Thomas White, John Shoals, William Bedlow, John Provoost, Lewis Pintard, and Walter Rutherford. In their special verdict they found among other things that the plaintiff and the majority of the members in communion with the Dutch Church had attended at the church on the third Thursday in October 1763 to cast their votes for church officers for the following year, and that the Consistory had refused to receive the plaintiff's vote and had proceeded with the election without first naming to the members the persons nominated for office. They further found that according to the rules established by the Synod of Dort,

and the usage of the churches of Holland, which had always been followed in New York, the elders and deacons and ministers present elected new elders and deacons, without the voice of the other members of the church, and that the plaintiff himself had been elected three times in accordance with this custom. After the nomination and appointment of new church-officers it was also customary for the minister to announce their names from the pulpit for three successive Sundays and if no objection were then made to them they remained in office. If objection were made, the Consistory took such action as it deemed best. The special verdict ended with the statement: "If the Law is for the Plaintiff we find for the Plaintiff and five pounds ten shillings damages; if the Law is for the Defendants we find for the Defendants." The Law was for the defendants, although Mr. Hardenbrook, who represented the Dutch party in the church in opposition to those who wished to call a minister to preach in the English language, employed the eminent attorneys James Duane, Benjamin Kissam, and John T. Kemp, their opponents being William Livingston and John M. Scott. Judgment was given for the Consistory on the 1st of November 1766, Judges Thomas Jones, William Smith, and Robert R. Livingston agreeing, and Judge Daniel Hormansden dissenting. Troubles also arose in the Dutch churches between those who desired to retain their connection with the Classis of Amsterdam and those who wished the American branch of that church to be entirely independent of Holland. One of the former who had been deposed from the ministry in 1786 for immorality and Toryism, and who, with some consistency, complained because he was referred to the Classis of Amsterdam for redress, published a most curious pamphlet, dated June 9th 1789 and probably printed in New York City. It is entitled "A true Description of the Circumstances of the Low Dutch Church, and their Ministers, for a Notification to the faithful Members of the same, who will stand by the Truth of the Holy Bible. By John Casper Ruble, Verbi Divini Minister, and Corrector of the Low Dutch Churches in some Parts of America." Mr. Ruble had come to America in 1751 and as early as 1755 had

been styled "the rebellious Ruble" and requested to resign a charge in Philadelphia. During the Revolution he had been a violent Tory, denouncing the Americans as "Satan's soldiers," and, judging by the contents of this pamphlet, the church was well rid of him. It was directed against many of the Low Dutch ministers who, according to the author, used "a strange Title of the Tryoun God: When they say in their Prayers and Preachings, in Dutch, *Volsalige God, Volsalige Jehova, Volsalvige Vader, Son, ende Heilige Geest.* That is in the English language, *Fulsaved God, Fulsaved Jehovah, etc.*" Mr. Ruble pronounced this title to be so blasphemous "that Ministers may commit Thousands of Sins, rather than one Time to say in the Pulpit, Fulsaved God, Fulsaved Jehovah, Fulsaved Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." He also inserted a remark which probably explains a large part of his own troubles, thus: "Hear further, courteous Reader, that you here find the Difference between the Cœtus and Conferentie Ministers:—The Coetus Ministers have made Use of such a Title, but the Conferentie Ministers never." He then wrote thus of his opponents: "All what is above mentioned is the Truth and nothing else than Truth, and from some Truth-loving people already observed, besides this, so have the Ministers, as such which the Pride as the Picture of the Duke of Darkness possesses, so it was with their false blasphemous title, that not alone all faithful European Ministers (who have no Relation through the Bond of Marriage in this Country with their ministers) and the Gospel preached according to God's Word, seek to persecute, and without any Reason, put out of their Service, and the same again to supply with their blasphemous Ideots, and against such Actions there is no Redress to be found, because these Ministers are with that Spirit, heads and Masters. . . . And as a Conclusion I say, have the such Ministers as I have above described me, in Anno 1784, posted in an unjust Manner, in the Pulpit in the Church of Flatbush, upon the Counsel of high spirited, unjust, wicked and unshameful Deceivers of our Church, as a Novice, which through Pride fall into the Condemnation of the Devil. . . . And how much I wished to preach the Gospel of Jesus

Christ for our Salvation ; so I say hereby freely, that I want not to do it for those People which will adhere and stay by such blasphemous Ministers, but only for such Christians who firmly stand by the Holland Reformed Calvinist Religion, and after the Instruction of the same Desires the Gospel of Jesus Christ should be preached ; then I shall be willing to preach for such Christians in a Church, House or Barn, so as it may be convenient, and I do not want a stipulated salary from Christians, but their Benefits shall in my poverty be enough, and I shall therewith be contented. . . . N. B. *To understand this Writing well, the cited Scripture Places must be revised in the Bible. Hereby I must pray all friendly Readers of this Writing, that they will excuse me in writing such bad English, because I am an European, a Dutchman, of whom you with me believe in general, that they never can learn the English Language, just so as the English pronounce and write it."*

A somewhat different view of the state of the Dutch Church is to be found in a letter, dated Yale College, Sept. 13th 1788, written by President Ezra Stiles to the Rev. Dr. Eilardus Westerlo of Albany, and touching upon topics which are of interest at the present time. The whole of this letter is as follows :

" REVD. AND DR. SIR,

I received by Mr. Woodworth your kind letter. It would have given me pleasure to have seen you at one of our humble Commencements in New Engl. I am sorry Mr. Basset's Illness would not spare you,—but indeed the stated Ordinances, Institutions, and Services of the Sanctuary are not to be diverted for the sake of Amusements. I truly rejoyce in the Prosperity of the Dutch Chh. in America. I am convinced it is best for the Interest of Religion that she should not coalesce and bury herself in any other Chh., but maintain and preserve herself a distinct Body and Light in the Chh. universal. I often tell some of my Brethren who are innovating in the Calvinistic System of Divinity, that we are confounding and confusing Religion in our Chhs. I am looking

at the Belgic Reformed for the Conservation of the pure Theology. I pray Gd bless your Synod with his holy presence. I shd rejoyce to be at N. York at the Time of their Assembly this Fall. I hope that neither Indifferentism, nor Deism nor Socinianism will devour the Belgic Chhs in Europe and America as they have too much done with respect to the Reformed Chhs in Britain. From sundry Productions in the Dutch Universities, lately sent me by Dr. Erskine of Edinburgh, it gives me pleasure to find the Dutch Divines come forth bold Defenders of Revelation and the pure Doctrines of Revelation.

May the Dutch Chhs in America subsist as a distinct Body: may the 4 United Synods of the Presbyterian Chh subsist as a distinct Body: may the Congreg'l Chhs also subsist as a distinct Body. And yet after all let us not make very much of these Distinctions as I hope we are all Lovers of the one Ld Jesus whose Father is one and whose Chh is really one, altho' in different Families. A federal Union may with peculiar Facility subsist among us of these 3 Divisions of Christians; but it must be a Union founded in and indispensably involving the separate Independency of these 3 Bodies of Fellow Xtians, Fellow Disciples of the blessed Jesus. Perhaps I write too freely. It is the benevolent Wish of my Heart that we may all be united and harmonious. And when one part goes astray, I hope the other will not,—and they may be mutual Lights to one another and correct one another. Wishing you every Blessing, I am Dr Sir,

Yr affectionate Brother,

EZRA STILES.

In 1789 the Dutch Church was probably stronger in the number of its attendants than any other denomination in the city, although it was constantly weakened by the departure of its younger members to the Episcopal Church, which exodus has continued to the present time. The first Dutch church edifice, a wooden building, had been erected in 1633 near the East River on what is now Broad Street, between Pearl and Bridge Streets, but, this being too small, a new

stone building, seventy-two feet long and fifty feet wide, was erected at an expense of twenty-five hundred guilders in 1642 within Fort Amsterdam at its southeast corner. This building stood until 1741 when it was destroyed by fire, but in 1693 the Dutch had relinquished it to the British Government and had begun to worship in a church on Garden Street before it was entirely finished. In 1789 the Garden Street Church was the oldest church edifice in the city, standing on the north side of Verlittenberg Street (Exchange Place) about half way between Broad and Smith (William) Streets. It was erected at an expense of 64178 guilders or \$27671 on a lot 125 feet wide by 180 feet deep and is described as an oblong building with three sides of an octagon on its east side and having in front a brick steeple on a square foundation with a consistory-room in it over the entry. There were three entrances and three second-story windows in the front of the building and large windows on the sides filled with small panes of glass set in leaden frames most of which contained coats of arms. The building, which was repaired in 1766, was used by the British as a hospital for a short time during the Revolution, but was reopened on the 7th of December 1783, and stood until 1807 when a new building was erected on the same site. In 1813 the congregation withdrew from the Collegiate Church, but continued to worship in this building until its destruction in the great fire of 1835, after which it was not rebuilt, the congregation dividing and one portion of it being now represented in the South Reformed Church on the south-west corner of 5th Avenue and 21st Street.

By the year 1726 the Dutch congregation became too large for the Garden Street Church and the Consistory bought a plot of ground for £575 on the east side of Nassau Street running from what in 1789 was Crown (Liberty) to Little Queen (Cedar) Street. Upon this plot was erected the Middle Dutch Church, which was opened for worship in 1729 but not completely finished until 1731. Its interior was remodeled in 1764, but during the Revolution the British completely destroyed it by using it as a hospital and a riding-school, and in 1789 the exterior walls were about all that

remained of the old building. Owing to lack of funds following the Revolution, repairs were not begun upon it until 1788 and it was not re-opened until July 4th 1790. This building, 100 feet long by 70 feet wide within the walls, was worshipped in until August 11th 1844, soon afterwards being occupied by the N.Y. Post-Office which remained in it until 1875. In 1882 it was demolished for the erection of the N. Y. Mutual Life Insurance Company's Building.

Until the year 1764 the services in the Dutch Churches were conducted in the Dutch language but in that year the Rev. Archibald Laidlie, minister of a Scotch Church in Flushing, Holland, was called to the Dutch Church in New York to preach in English to the portion of the congregation who preferred that language. For the benefit of these, the corner stone of the North Dutch Church was laid July 2nd 1767 and the building dedicated May 25th 1769. By will dated Feb. 7th 1723, John Harpendinck, a member of the Dutch Church, had devised to it his interest in Shoemaker's Pasture, which was approximately bounded by the present Broadway, Maiden Lane, a line parallel to and near the west side of Gold Street, and on the north by Ann Street. The North Church was erected upon a portion of this land on the west side of William Street between Ann and what in 1789 was Fair (Fulton) Street. This building, 70 feet wide by 100 feet long, was constructed of uncut stone, with a tower, the pedestal of which was square and surmounted by an octagonal belfry. The main entrance was on William Street, there also being side entrances from each of the side streets. Its cost was about £12000, pillars being erected in the interior marked with the initials of those who presented them, with a sum of money in addition. The British used this building during the Revolution as a hospital and storehouse, stripping it of its pews and defacing its walls, but it was reopened in December 1784 and was used as a place of worship until 1875, when its site was leased and it demolished in the summer of that year.

These three Dutch churches had collegiate ministers and were governed by one Consistory who acted under a charter from William III., dated May 11th 1696, which was confirmed

by Act of the New York Legislature, March 17th 1784, with the exception of a clause empowering the Consistory by and with the advice and consent of the members in communion to make rates and assessments upon all members for the payment of ministers' salaries, repairs to buildings, etc. Owing to their form of government the Dutch churches were unable to become incorporated under the general act of April 6th 1784 allowing the appointment of not less than three nor more than nine trustees for each church, and an Act was therefore passed on the 7th of March 1788 allowing the Consistories of such churches to become the trustees. The new members of the Consistory of the Collegiate Church elected October 15th and ordained November 1st 1789 were :

Elders.

EVERT BANCKER
WILLIAM GILBERT
WILLIAM DEPEYSTER

GARRET ABEEL
GARRET HARSIN
COENRAD W. HAM.

Deacons.

FREDERICK STYMETS.
ANDREW HOPPER
JOHN BROUWER

JACOBUS BROWN
WILLIAM J. ELSWORTH.
AHASUERUS TURCK.

The church-masters were Jacob J. Lansing and Thomas Lafoy. At the beginning of the year 1789 there were but two ministers of the Collegiate Church, the Rev. Dr. John Henry Livingston and the Rev. Dr. William Linn, two of the colleagues who were still living, Dominies Ritzema and De Ronde, not having returned to the city after the Revolution, and Dr. Laidlie having died in 1778. Dr. Livingston was now in the 43rd year of his age, having been born in Poughkeepsie, N. Y. May 30th 1746. His education had been begun at the age of seven under the Rev. Chauncey Graham at Fishkill, and a few years later he had been placed under the tutorship of Mr. Moss Kent, father of Chancellor Kent. After graduation at Yale College in 1762 he had studied law for a few years and had then gone to Utrecht to study theology. Here he received the degree of D.D., and after ordination at Amsterdam, accepted a call to the Collegiate Church, arriving

in New York in September 1770. In 1773 he married the daughter of Philip Livingston, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and during the British occupation retired from the city. Upon the declaration of peace he had been the only Collegiate minister who returned to the city, and in 1784 he had been appointed Professor of Theology for the Dutch Church, delivering his Latin Inaugural Oration before the Synods of New York and New Jersey on the 19th of May 1785. He resigned his pastorate in 1810 to take charge of this Professorship, which was then fully established, and he was at the same time appointed President of Rutgers College, which duties he performed until his death at New Brunswick, N. J. on the 20th of January 1825. He is described as tall, well-built, and commanding in appearance, with regular features, and an agreeable expression. In private life he was extremely dignified, courteous, and a polished gentleman. In the pulpit his fine personal appearance, deep voice, and impressive wig, were of great advantage to him, his sermons being read from copious notes and accompanied by somewhat eccentric gestures. In 1789 he resided at No. 79 Broadway. His colleague Dr. William Linn, was born near Shippensburg, Pa., February 7th 1752. He was graduated from Princeton College in 1772 and in April 1775 was licensed to preach as a Presbyterian minister, being ordained in the following year, and made chaplain of the 5th and 6th battalions of Pennsylvania troops. Family affairs preventing him from accompanying these troops to Canada, he resigned this post and acted as pastor of a church in Big Spring, Pa. for six years. Thence he removed in 1784 to become President of Washington Academy in Somerset Co. Maryland, but in June 1786 resumed his ministerial labors in Elizabethtown, N. J., whence he was called in a few months to the Collegiate Church, being installed in his new pastorate November 12th 1786. On the 1st of May 1789 he was chosen chaplain of the House of Representatives at a salary of \$500, receiving twenty-seven votes to nineteen votes cast for Dr. John Rodgers, and officiated for the first time on the 5th of May. In the following year he was reappointed. He was a Regent of the State Uni-

versity from 1787 to 1808, received the degree of S.T.D. from Columbia College in 1789, and acted as temporary President of Queen's (Rutgers) College for several years after 1791. He remained with the Collegiate Church until 1805 when failing health compelled his retirement to Albany where he died on the 8th of January 1808, having been elected President of Union College just before his death. The preaching of the ministers who were in New York in 1789 is generally described as "pious and earnest." Dr. Linn was pious, earnest, and eloquent. It is said that his trumpet-like voice could be heard for a mile, and he has been without doubt justly described as the most eloquent preacher of his time in New York and one of the best in the United States. The esteem in which he was held as a preacher is well shown by a card in the Daily Advertiser of October 30th 1789 written by "A Stranger" who had heard a charity sermon preached by him. After stating that he was entirely unacquainted with Dr. Linn, he writes: "Would ministers always preach thus, I would venture to say that it would soon become more fashionable to go to church and perform Christian duties in general." Dr. Linn's ardent patriotism and oratorical powers also brought him into prominence upon patriotic celebrations, one of his discourses, on the Blessings of America, being delivered before the Tammany Society on the 4th of July 1791, and another in eulogy of General Washington, before the Society of the Cincinnati on the 22nd of February 1800. His imaginative powers and command of language were great, and his sermons, which he committed to memory, were delivered naturally and gracefully, although he is said to have been at times over-vehement in gesture. In 1789 Dr. Linn's residence was No. 66 Cortlandt Street, his salary being £400 a year and a house rent free. There were still in the Collegiate Church at this time a sufficient number of those who preferred preaching in the Dutch language to render it desirable to have some of the services in that tongue, and, although Dr. Livingston occasionally preached in Dutch to this portion of the congregation, it was decided to call a minister especially for that purpose. Accordingly in the latter part of 1789 a call was extended

to and accepted by Rev. Gerardus Areense Kuypers, a young man who had been settled in a church at Paramus, N. J., since June 1788. Mr. Kuypers was born in December 1766 on the Island of Curaçao, but at the age of two years had been brought to America and had received his theological education from his father who was a minister in Hackensack, N. J. His services in the Collegiate Church were confined to preaching in Dutch in the Garden Street church until 1803 when he preached the last sermon in that language to a very small congregation. He then preached in English until his death on the 28th of June 1833. In 1791 he received the degree of A.M. from the College of New Jersey and in 1810 that of D.D. from Rutgers College. He is described as a man of medium height, compactly built, and of remarkable agility. He was retiring in disposition, courteous and affable in manner, not learned, and exceedingly conservative in doctrine and usages. As a preacher he was more successful in the Dutch than in the English language.

Connected with the Collegiate Church there was also a school, supported by charitable contributions, which is said to have had its beginning in 1633. After suspension by the war this school was re-opened in the latter part of 1783 under the mastership of Peter Van Steenburgh, who held that position from 1773 until May 1st 1791. The schoolhouse was a building opposite the Garden Street church, erected in 1748 and rebuilt in 1773, in which the schoolmaster lived, and on the second floor of which the Consistory held its meetings. In 1789 Mr. Van Steenburgh entered upon an agreement by which he was to receive from the Consistory £35 a year for giving elementary instruction to thirty scholars. The school was visited monthly by the deacons and quarterly by the whole Consistory, the children being clothed and taught from funds raised chiefly by collections in the churches. On the 12th of December 1789 it was announced in the N. Y. Packet that a charity-sermon for the benefit of this school would be preached on the following day in Dutch in the Garden Street Church, and on the next Sabbath in English in the North Church. The school is still in existence.

The Protestant Episcopal churches in 1789 were three in number, Trinity, St. Paul's Chapel, and St. George's Chapel. The first Trinity Church building had been erected in 1696, opened for worship in January 1697, and enlarged in 1737, but was not in existence in 1789 having been destroyed in the fire of 1776, together with its two charity school buildings, library, and rector's house at an estimated loss of £22200. The fire destroyed all but a portion of the walls, and rebuilding was not begun until 1788, when Robert Watts, Moses Rogers, Nicholas Cruger, Nicholas Carner, and George Dominick, commissioners for rebuilding, advertised on the 18th of June for proposals for taking down the walls. On the 8th of July they asked for proposals for laying new foundations and on the 7th of August they were ready to receive proposals for carpenter work. The masonwork of the new building was done by Messrs. Moore and Smith and the carpenter work by James Robinson. The work of the committee, however, does not seem to have satisfied everybody as in the *Daily Advertiser* of March 12th 1789 there appeared a card bitterly attacking one of the committee for acts alleged to have been done through jealousy at not receiving the contract for rebuilding. This attack by "A Churchman," however, received a reply from "Hod Carrier" which apparently disposed of it, as nothing further upon the subject appeared in the newspaper. The corner stone of the building was laid by Bishop Provoost on the 21st of August 1788 and the fact that the inscription on this stone mentioned the "Bishop of New York" brought about a fierce newspaper controversy between the Presbyterians and Episcopalians which was begun by a Presbyterian attack in the *N. Y. Packet* of November 25th 1788. The Presbyterian in a subsequent article having complained that his opponent had omitted the Dutch Church from the number of Presbyterians, a member of the Dutch Church residing on Smith Street informed him on the 27th of January 1789 that the Dutch needed none of his championship, knew their ancient friends, and had no desire to take part in the quarrel. There was no stouter opponent of the claims of episcopacy, however, than Dr. Linn of the Dutch Church. The property

of Trinity Church in 1789 although extensive was not very remunerative and the sale of lots to obtain ready money was frequent for many years. In May 1789 the corporation advertised that it would sell forty-six lots, nineteen of which were in the rear of the church, fronting on Greenwich Street, and the other twenty-seven on Division Street and the streets to the north and east of St. Paul's Church. It also announced its determination to enforce the payment of back rents and stated that its collector had been ordered to re-enter upon all lots two years in arrears for rent, and on July 1st to re-enter upon those three months in arrears. In February 1789 advertisements appeared for stone for the new building, to be delivered in the Spring, and by the end of the year its erection was probably well-advanced as on the 19th of November, the editor of the N. Y. Journal stated that no improvement deserved greater approbation than the new church on Broadway, the spire of which, with good conductors, would be a great preservative against lightning for all the buildings within several hundred paces of it, and especially to the Federal Building. The editor might well have mentioned other reasons for approbation of the erection of the church, but this was certainly a very good reason as lightning played its pranks very freely in the city, visiting the just and the unjust without discrimination. One Wednesday evening in June 1788 it shattered the house and smashed the crockery of the Rev. Dr. Mason at No. 63 Cortlandt Street, and on the 10th of June 1789 it set fire to the curtains in the house of John Henry, the actor, at No. 5 Fair (Fulton) Street. The new Trinity Church, 104 feet long by 72 feet wide, with a steeple 200 feet in height, was consecrated March 25th 1790, and stood until 1839 when it was taken down to be replaced by the present edifice which was consecrated May 21st 1846.

In 1748 the congregation of Trinity Church had become so large that it had been decided to erect a Chapel of Ease and six lots were accordingly bought for £645 by inhabitants of Montgomery Ward and presented to the church as a site for the new chapel. Upon these St. George's Chapel was built and opened July 1st 1752. This building, 92 feet long, ex-

clusive of the chancel, and 72 feet wide, stood on the north-west corner of Beekman and Cliff Streets until its destruction by fire on the morning of January 5th 1814. It was faced with hewn stone, had a steeple 175 feet in height containing a large bell, and was originally roofed with tiles, which, being found to be too heavy for the walls, were replaced by shingles. After its destruction in 1814 it was immediately rebuilt, and the new building was occupied until 1841, when it was demolished and its congregation removed to the present church in Rutherford Place near Stuyvesant Square. It became independent of Trinity Church in 1811.

The building of St. Paul's Chapel was begun in 1763 for the same reason that caused the erection of St. George's, and it was opened October 30th 1766. Its steeple was added in 1794, but with that exception the external appearance of the building in 1789 was probably the same as at the present time. It is now the oldest church edifice in the city and is the oldest building with the exception of the tavern on the southeast corner of Broad and Pearl Streets. In 1784 the congregation seem to have been afflicted with a failing of which complaint has been made in the case of others within less than a hundred years. On the 15th of July in that year the following appeared in the N. Y. Packet: "A Foreigner presents his most respectful compliments to the congregation of St. Paul's, and begs leave to observe to them that he must think that they are devoid of any manner of humanity or common politeness, when they can see genteel strangers come into their Church, and not endeavor to procure them a seat, but sit with a mortifying indifference upon their countenance. From his knowledge of the Continent he is persuaded such unfriendly inattention cannot proceed from influence of climate, as their neighboring city is possessed of good breeding and politeness." During his residence in New York in 1789 and 1790 Washington attended service at St. Paul's regularly, a pew covered with a canopy being set apart for his use; and on the 3rd of November 1789 the State Convention of the Episcopal Church was opened in this church and closed its meeting harmoniously on the 5th of that month.

In 1789 the Protestant Episcopal clergymen of the city were the Rt. Rev. Samuel Provoost, D.D., Bishop of New York and Rector of Trinity Church, and the two assistant ministers of Trinity Church the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Moore and Rev. Dr. Abraham Beach. Bishop Samuel Provoost was born in N. Y. City, February 26th 1742 and was graduated from Kings (Columbia) College in its first class in 1758. After studying theology at St. Peter's College, Cambridge, he became an assistant minister of Trinity Church in Dec. 1766 but dissolved that connection in 1769 and lived on a farm in Dutchess county until 1784. During the Revolution his sympathies were entirely American and when at the close of the war the Whig members of Trinity Church succeeded in overthrowing in the courts the election of a rector made by the Tories before the peace, he was unanimously chosen rector and inducted into that office April 22nd 1784. In 1785 he was chaplain of the Continental Congress and on the 13th of June 1786 was elected Bishop of New York, receiving consecration from the Archbishop of Canterbury on the 4th of February 1787 and returning to New York on the 8th of April in that year. In May 1789 he was chosen chaplain of the U. S. Senate and was reappointed in the following year. He resigned the rectorship of Trinity Church, September 8th 1800, and his office as Bishop on the 3rd of September 1801, the latter resignation not being accepted and an assistant bishop being appointed. His sudden death of apoplexy occurred September 6th 1815. In person, Bishop Provoost is described as a man with a round, full face, rather above medium height, portly, and very dignified in manner. He had a good voice and made a fine appearance in the pulpit, but, as a preacher, lacked animation, and although a fine classical scholar, linguist, and botanist, he was not distinguished for intellectual ability. He was noted for his public spirit, hospitality, and liberality to the poor which was thought to be greater than was warranted by his income. As Rector of Trinity Church he received a salary of £700 a year and a house rent-free, the latter in 1789 being No 2 Nassau Street.

Rev. Abraham Beach, D.D., born in Cheshire, Conn., Sep-

tember 9th 1740, was graduated with the highest honors from Yale College in 1757, and was ordained deacon and priest in England in 1767. He served as a missionary in New Jersey from 1767 until the churches under his care at Piscataqua and New Brunswick were closed in 1776, and was a Tory during the Revolution. In 1783 a church at Amboy was added to his charge and on the 8th of June 1784 he was appointed one of three assistant ministers of Trinity Church at a salary of £500. He was a Regent of the State University, a trustee of Queen's (Rutgers) College, masonic Grand Chaplain, a trustee of Columbia College, from which he received the degree of D.D. in 1789, and was one of the founders of the Society for the relief of Distressed Debtors in January 1787. He became assistant rector of Trinity Church upon the retirement of Dr. Moore from active service in 1811, but resigned his office in March 1813 and lived in retirement on a farm near New Brunswick, New Jersey, until his death on the 14th of September 1828. He is said to have been dignified in person, genial in conversation, exceedingly industrious in his parochial duties, and practical in his sermons. His residence in 1789 was No. 46 William Street.

Rev. Benjamin Moore, D.D. was a native of Newtown, Long Island, born on the 5th of October 1748. After graduation from King's (Columbia) College in 1768 he was ordained deacon and priest in England in 1774 and soon afterwards became an assistant minister of Trinity Church. In 1775 he acted as President of King's College during the enforced absence of the Rev. Myles Cooper and in November 1783 was chosen Rector of Trinity Church by its Tory members before the return of the Whigs. In the Spring of 1784 he was ousted from that office on the ground that the election was void, but on the 8th of June 1784 was appointed assistant minister, with Mr. Beach and Mr. Ogden, at a salary of £500, two hundred of which was to be raised by private contribution. He received the degree of D.D. from Columbia College in 1789 and was, in that year, Secretary of the Corporation for the relief of the Widows and Children of the Clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America,

a corporation which in 1769 had obtained charters from New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. By Act of February 19th 1787 the New York legislature confirmed this charter, changing the title of the society from the words "Clergymen in the communion of the Church of England in America," repealing some English clauses in it, and requiring that the accounts and proceedings of the Society should be ratified by the Governor, Chancellor, Chief-Justice, or any two of them. The society apparently held no meetings from 1771 until 1784, and, after the Revolution, newspaper notices of its proceedings which styled it the "Society for the relief etc. of the Clergy" without further description, excited great Presbyterian wrath. Dr. Moore succeeded Bishop Provoost as Rector on the 22nd of December 1800, and as Bishop on the 11th of September 1801, and in the latter year also became President of Columbia College, holding that office until incapacitated by paralysis in 1811, repeated attacks of that nature causing his death at Greenwich Village on the 27th of February 1816. He is described as of slender figure and medium height, graceful and gentle in manner, and exceedingly modest and unostentatious. In private life his popularity was great, but his powers as a preacher were moderate, simplicity being the most marked feature of his sermons. In 1789 he resided at No 46 Broadway.

The Corporation of Trinity Church acted under a charter granted in 1697 which was confirmed by the New York legislature by Act of April 17th 1784 rendering it conformable to the laws of New York. In 1789 the church officers, according to Dr. Berrian's History, were

Wardens.

JOHN JAY. JAMES DUANE.

Vestrymen.

JAMES FARQUHAR	WILLIAM LAIGHT
THOMAS RANDALL	RICHARD HARRISON
ANTHONY L. BLEEKER	NICHOLAS KORTRIGHT
ANDREW HAMERSLEY	MATTHEW M. CLARKSON
HUBERT VAN WAGENEN	WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON
NICHOLAS CARMER	JOHN JONES

JOHN LEWIS

ALEXANDER OGSBURY

MOSES ROGERS

CHARLES STARTIN

GEORGE WARNER

ALEXANDER HAMERSLEY.

GEORGE DOMINICK.

George Warner and Alexander Hamersley became Vestrymen, and Robert C. Livingston, Daniel Dunscomb, James Giles, and William Bush, retired from that office in that year.

A Charity School had been founded in 1709 which for a time was under the joint care of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and of Trinity Church, the schoolmaster receiving a portion of his salary from each. In 1748 a school-building had been erected on the south side of Rector Street in the rear of the old Lutheran Church, which had soon been burned, but rebuilt, and again destroyed in the fire of 1776. In 1789 the school, which consisted of 36 boys and 30 girls, was under the instruction of John Winter, clerk of St. Paul's Chapel, at No. 29 John Street opposite the theatre. John Wood, clerk of Trinity Church, also advertised an evening school at the same place in which arithmetic was to be taught according to "Pike's excellent American system," and in 1785 he had announced that he would teach writing in six weeks provided that the pupils had never tried to write before. The Charity School was supported principally by voluntary contributions and one sermon in its behalf by Bishop Provoost at St. George's on the 15th of November 1789 was followed by a contribution of £62 7s. 10d. and another, preached by Dr. Moore at St. Paul's on the 22nd of November collected £81 8s. 10d.

The French Huguenots were the third congregation to erect a church in the city after worshipping for some time in the Dutch church in the Fort. Their first building, which was opened in 1688, was situated on the south side of what is now Market Street about half way between Whitehall and Broad Streets, the lot being twenty-eight feet wide by fifty feet deep. This building was used for about sixteen years when a new one was erected on the north side of King (Pine) Street near the east corner of Nassau Street, its corner stone being laid July 8th 1704. It was seventy feet long by fifty

feet wide, constructed of stone covered with plaster, and at the rear had a low stone tower surmounted by a cupola and bell. Its burying ground extended back to Little Queen (Cedar) Street. In 1776 the building was closed and its occupation by the British as a storehouse rendered necessary an almost entire rebuilding, which was not begun until 1796, the building remaining unused for nearly twenty years. Until 1803 the doctrine and ceremonies of this church were in accordance with those of the Reformed Church of France, but in that year, partly in order to obtain a legacy of £1000 left by Elias Desbrosses in 1773 in trust to Trinity Church for the support of a French minister who should perform divine service according to the liturgy of the Church of England, the congregation decided to join the Protestant Episcopal body. The cupola on the tower had been removed and replaced by a board roof and after further alterations and repairs the building was consecrated by Bishop Moore on the 30th of May 1803 and was used until 1832 when the congregation removed to a new one on the southwest corner of Franklin and Church Streets. This, in turn, was abandoned in 1863 for the present church on the south side of 22nd Street between Fifth and Sixth Avenues.

The first Friends Meeting House in the city was a small wooden building on the North side of Crown (Liberty) Street about half-way between Broadway and what is now called Liberty Place, built about the beginning of the 18th century and perhaps before the first Lutheran church. During the Revolution it was used by the British as a hospital, but was reopened after the war and used until 1794 when it was demolished and a new one erected on nearly the same site; which, in turn, was replaced in 1802 by a brick building in which the Friends worshipped until its sale to Grant Thorburn in 1826. This building was then used for business purposes until its demolition about the year 1836. In 1789 there was also another "New Quaker Meeting" which had been built of brick in 1775 on the east side of Queen (Pearl) Street near the south corner of Rutgers (Oak) Street, and was worshipped in until 1824 when the congregation removed to a house on the

northwest side of Rose Street near Pearl Street which was used for worship until the year 1857.

The Lutherans built their first church in the city in 1702 on the southwest corner of what is now Rector Street and Broadway, but the building was destroyed in the fire of 1776 and never rebuilt, its site being known for many years as the "Burnt Lutheran Church." In 1761 another small Lutheran church had been built in Skinner (Cliff) Street but in 1767 the congregation removed to another building which, in 1789, stood on the northeast corner of King George (William) and Frankfort Streets. It was a low stone building, known as the Swamp Church, without a steeple, having an entrance on King George Street with a large window on each side of it and one over it, while on Frankfort Street light was admitted through four large windows and a small one. During the British occupation of the city in the Revolution the Hessians worshipped in it and the Lutheran congregation occupied it until 1831 when it was sold to the African Presbyterian Church. The latter occupied it until 1848 when it was sold for business purposes and so used until its demolition in December 1850. In 1784 the remnant of the Rector Street congregation had joined this church and on Monday, August 2nd of that year, the N. Y. Packet announced that on "Thursday evening arrived in this city the Rev. Dr. John Christopher Kunze, late senior minister of the Lutheran Churches in Philadelphia and Professor of Oriental Languages in the University, who is appointed the Lutheran Minister of the Trinity and Christ Churches in this city." Dr. Kunze was born in Arter, Saxony, on the 5th of August 1744 and, after receiving his education in Germany, had first arrived in New York on the 22nd of September 1770. He then became pastor in Philadelphia and in 1780 was appointed Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Pennsylvania, from which he received the degree of D.D. in 1784. Immediately after his arrival in New York in 1784 he was appointed to a similar professorship in Columbia College, holding it for three years and again occupying it from 1792 to 1795. In 1789 he was vice-president of the German Society. He remained pastor

of the Swamp Church until his death, July 24th 1807, his residence in 1789 being No. 24 Chatham Street. He is said to have been a man of medium height, stout, slow, and rough in manner. He was learned in patristic theology, and much interested in astronomy and numismatics. In Hebrew he had no contemporary superior, and he was on terms of intimate friendship with Rabbi Seixas of the Mill Street synagogue. His sermons were learned, never less than an hour long, and delivered with a weak voice. The preaching in the Lutheran Church was in German and in that language Dr. Kunze was a fluent speaker, but his attempts to preach in English ended with a sermon from the text "God is not willing that any should perish." Some irreverent young men having reported that upon this occasion Dr. Kunze had said "Gott is not a villain," he thereafter confined himself to his native tongue. In 1795 he also prepared a collection of hymns translated from the German which are said to have been "most curious specimens of couplets and triplets." There was a school connected with the Swamp Church which in 1789 was taught by Henry Leightanslen.

The first Jewish Synagogue in the city was erected about the year 1700 on the north side of Mill Street. This first building, however, was replaced in 1730 by a new stone building thirty-six feet wide by fifty-eight feet long, erected on the same site, which was used until 1833 when the Congregation Shearith Israel removed to a building in Crosby Street near Spring Street. It again removed thence, about the year 1860, to the present synagogue near the northwest corner of Nineteenth Street and Fifth Avenue. In 1789 the Rabbi of this congregation was the Rev. Gershom Seixas, of Portuguese descent, born in New York City in 1745. Having succeeded Rabbi Pinto in 1766 he held the office for fifty years and enjoyed the friendship and respect of ministers of all denominations until his death, after a lingering illness, on the morning of July 2nd 1816, his wife, Mrs. Elkalah Seixas, having preceded him to the grave on the 30th of October 1785. His funeral took place from his house No. 20 Mill Street at eight o'clock in the morning of July 3rd 1816, his remains being in-

terred in the Jewish Cemetery. By the Act of April 13th 1787, reorganizing Columbia College, Rabbi Seixas was appointed a trustee of that institution, and by a subsequent Act in 1810 was continued in that position. In the Daily Gazette of December 23rd 1789 there appeared an interesting advertisement stating that upon the following day there would be published, at the price of one shilling, a Discourse delivered by the Rev. Gershom Seixas in the Jewish Synagogue on Thanksgiving Day, November 26th 1789. It closed with the statement: "This excellent discourse (to which is annexed the Order of Service) the first of the kind ever preached in English in this State, is highly deserving the attention of every pious reader, whether Jew or Christian, as it breathes nothing but pure morality and devotion." In 1789 this congregation lost two of its prominent members. On the morning of April 12th died Moses Gomez a highly respected real-estate and money broker at No. 203 Water Street, of whom the Daily Gazette contained the following obituary notice: "He was religious, hospitable, humane and generous, and a staunch friend of freedom, as was evinced by his relinquishing a very considerable property and residing among the friends of the revolution during the late war."

"Here rests at length, his labours at an end,
The rich man's model and the poor man's friend.
After a life of persevering toil,
We trust his reliques to his *native* soil;
Convinced his renovated frame will rise
And his blest spirit claim the promised skies."

On the 29th of July the congregation lost another member and the city an honorable merchant by the death of Haymen Levy "a gentleman much respected by all denominations who had the pleasure of his acquaintance." During the Revolution he had retired to Philadelphia and of him the Philadelphia Journal said: "His character as a merchant was without blemish; he was a true patriot and friend of the United States, an affectionate husband, a tender father, and a sincere friend. The widow, the orphan and the poor will lament the

loss ; he was benevolent and charitable to a great degree ; his house was open to all strangers of good character to partake of his liberality." Mr. Levy was one of the great fur dealers of his time and in his store John Jacob Astor learned that business. The Jewish Burying Ground, of which a small part still exists, in 1789 occupied the block now bounded by the New Bowery, Oliver, Madison and James Streets, the first mentioned having been cut through the northwest corner of the old block.

The Presbyterians erected their first church in the city in 1719 on the north side of Wall Street about half-way between Broadway and Nassau Street, the church yard having a frontage of eighty-eight feet, and extending to a line fifty feet from the corner of Nassau Street. This building had been enlarged in 1748 to an edifice of rough stone, sixty feet wide by eighty feet long, with a cupola and a bell. In the year 1766, owing to the increased number of the congregation, this church obtained from the city a plot of ground known as the Vineyard on the north side of Beekman Street between Park Row and Nassau Street, now occupied by the Potter and New York Times buildings, on a perpetual lease of £40 a year, upon which the Brick Meeting was erected, and dedicated January 1st 1768 as a collegiate church with that on Wall Street. In Manasseh Cutler's diary, in the year 1787, it is stated that the Brick Meeting building was large and elegant, the carved woodwork being plain but effective. The building was long, having the pulpit near one end but not close to the wall, it being supported by a single post which passed up at the back of it and was crowned by the sounding-board not more than two feet above the minister's head. At the end of the building opposite the pulpit were two doors opening into two aisles which extended the length of the house, there being a row of long narrow pews along each wall and two rows between the aisles. Near the middle of the side walls were two pews, opposite to each other, which were considerably elevated and covered with a handsome canopy supported by pillars. These were called the Governor's pews and were reserved for strangers. Around the large pillar which supported the pul-

pit there was a very large circular pew in which the church officers and chorister sat, a little desk in front of it, considerably elevated, being occupied by the chorister when singing. When a Psalm was given out the chorister sang the first line and the whole congregation joined with him in the second line. There was no organ. Immediately after the singing which closed the service, a collection was taken up in tin platters to which each person contributed one copper and no more, the whole matter occupying but about three minutes. The ministers of the Wall Street and Brick churches preached in them alternately in the morning and the afternoon, the sermon delivered in one church in the morning being repeated in the other church in the afternoon. In 1788 Noah Webster described the Brick Meeting as "a genteel brick building thirty-three feet long and sixty-five wide, with a steeple not finished." During the Revolution the British used the Wall Street building as a barrack and the Brick Meeting as a hospital, but, after the peace, upon the invitation of Trinity Church the Presbyterian Congregation worshipped in St. George's Chapel for a few months until the Brick Meeting was repaired in 1784. The Wall Street church was reopened in 1785 and stood until 1809 when a new building was erected on the same site, which was burnt down in 1834, rebuilt in the following year, and occupied until 1844 when it was sold and removed stone by stone to Jersey City where it was used as a church until its sale in May 1888 for other purposes. The Wall Street congregation is at present represented in the First Presbyterian Church on the west side of Fifth Avenue between Eleventh and Twelfth Streets, which was opened for worship on the 11th of January 1846. The Brick Meeting continued to be a collegiate church with that in Wall Street until 1809, when that connection was dissolved and the building was used by the independent congregation until it was torn down in 1856, the congregation then building the Brick Church on the northwest corner of Thirty-seventh Street and Fifth Avenue, which was dedicated October 31st 1858. During the greater part of the year 1789 the only settled pastor of these churches was the Rev. Dr. John Rodgers, one of the foremost figures in Amer-

ican Presbyterianism. Dr. Rodgers was born in Boston, August 5th 1727, and removed to Philadelphia when he was one year old. When a boy he was deeply moved by the preaching of Whitefield, and, after receiving his education in Pennsylvania grammar schools, completed his preparation for the ministry under Rev. Gilbert Tennent in Philadelphia, being licensed to preach in October 1747. After a pastorate of sixteen years in Philadelphia he was called to New York and installed pastor of the Wall Street Church on the 4th of September 1765. The church flourished wonderfully under his ministration and when it became necessary to build the Brick Meeting a large portion of the funds for its erection was collected by his personal exertions. In 1768 he received the degree of D.D. from Edinburgh University, at the suggestion of Whitefield and through the agency of Benjamin Franklin. During the Revolution he was an ardent patriot acting as a brigade chaplain in 1776, as chaplain of the State Convention at Esopus in May 1777, of the Council of Safety, and of the first Legislature under the State Constitution of 1777. In October 1776 he retired from the city and remained absent until 1783, one of his earliest sermons after his return being entitled "The Divine Goodness displayed in the American Revolution." He was a Regent of the State University, a trustee of the College of New Jersey, Moderator of the first Presbyterian General Assembly at Philadelphia in 1789, and in the same year was President of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Debtors, and Vice-President of the Society for promoting Useful Knowledge. He died in N. Y. City, May 7th 1811. He is described as a stout man of medium height who wore a white wig, was extremely careful in his dress, and walked with the most majestic dignity. He was elegant in manners, but formal to such a degree that there is a tradition that the last thing which he and his wife always did before retiring for the night was to salute each other with a bow and a courtesy. Among his qualities were fervent piety, great tact, perseverance, and liberality toward the opinion of others although very firm in his own belief. His preaching was unpolished and lacked variety in style, but was marked by deep

earnestness, his sermons being delivered from memory until 1803, after which time he read them until he ceased to preach in September 1809. His salary was £700 a year, his perquisites amounting to £200 more, and in 1789 he resided at No. 7 Nassau Street.

In the early part of 1789 the Rev. James Muir also preached in the Wall Street church as a candidate for co-pastorship with Dr. Rodgers in the place of Rev. Mr. Wilson who had vacated that office in January 1788. Mr. Muir was born in Scotland on the 12th of April 1757 and after graduation at the University of Glasgow and the study of theology in Edinburgh had preached in London and the Island of Bermuda until the latter part of 1788 when he came to New York. The Rev. Jedidiah Morse, however, was also a candidate for this pulpit and the disagreement of the congregation as to the respective merits of Mr. Morse and Mr. Muir was such that neither of them was chosen pastor. On the 3rd of February 1789 a member of the congregation published a card in the *Daily Gazette* stating that it was rumored that Mr. Muir had accepted a call to Alexandria, Va., but that this was by no means certain as his preaching was acceptable to a portion of the pew-holders while others opposed him, but that it was hoped that all might agree upon his establishment as co-pastor. Mr. Muir, however, accepted the call to Alexandria, where he remained until his death on the 8th of August 1820. He is described as a short and very stout man, with a grave but very benignant expression of countenance, and a disposition so unsuspecting that, upon his coming to America, he was told by a relative not to believe a word that he heard and not more than half of what he saw. His sermons were excellent and rarely more than thirty five minutes long, but his strong Scotch brogue and a slight defect in his speech interfered with his popularity as a preacher in this country. The statements regarding the simplicity of his mind have perhaps been either exaggerated or not half sufficiently set forth, if the following fact may be taken as an index of it. In a letter written in January 1789 by an elder of the Wall Street church, the writer expresses his indignation at the fact that after Mr. Muir knew

that his services would be required but one Sunday longer, he gave out to be sung the 120th Psalm according to Watts' version. That Psalm reads as follows :

“Thou God of love, thou ever blest,
Pity my suffering state ;
When wilt thou set my soul at rest,
From lips that love deceit ?

Hard lot of mine ! my days are cast
Among the sons of strife,
Whose never-ceasing quarrels waste
My golden hours of life.

Oh might I fly to change my place,
How would I choose to dwell
In some wide lonesome wilderness
And leave these gates of hell !

Peace is the blessing that I seek,
How lovely are its charms !
I am for peace ; but when I speak,
They all declare for arms.

New passions still their souls engage,
And keep their malice strong ;
What shall be done to curb thy rage,
O thou devouring tongue !

Should burning arrows smite thee through,
Strict justice would approve ;
But I would rather spare my foe,
And melt his heart with love.”

This piece of simplicity was rewarded by a large number of empty pews at the next service. After Mr. Muir's departure from New York, Dr. Rodgers remained sole pastor until December 2nd 1789 when the Rev. John McKnight was installed as his colleague, having been called to this church in July 1789. Mr. McKnight was born near Carlisle, Pa., October 1st 1754, and, after graduation from the College of New Jersey in 1773 and ordination in 1777, was settled in Virginia until 1783 when he removed to Lower Marsh Creek, Pa. It is related that while he was settled there a newly

ordained ruling elder who had been appointed to attend a meeting of Presbytery came to him in great agitation to learn what his duties would be, and received the reply: "You are to see that my horse is fed and saddled in time to start; to go before and have breakfast or dinner prepared for us; to pay the bills, and in Presbytery to vote as I do." This sportiveness greatly relieved the elder, who was then instructed as to his real duties. Mr. McKnight arrived in New York with his family on the 3rd of November 1789, was installed on Wednesday the 2nd of December, and on the following Sunday preached from the very appropriate text: "I ask therefore for what intent ye have sent for me." He received the degree of D.D. from Yale College in 1791 and in 1795 was Professor of Moral Philosophy and Logic in Columbia College. He was Dr. Rodgers' only colleague until 1792 when his ill-health made a third minister necessary, and he resigned his pastorship in 1809 when the collegiate system between the Wall Street and Brick Churches came to an end. He then resided on a farm near Chambersburg, Pa., until 1815 when he became President of Dickinson College, but resigned that office in a little more than a year, and returned to his farm where he died October 21st 1823. He was a rather tall and slender man, of a cheerful disposition, and dignified in manner without the pompous formality for which some of his contemporaries were noted. In his preaching he was a zealous Calvinist, but calm and dispassionate, and lacked variety of tone and gesture.

The treatment of the Presbyterians by the Episcopalians before the Revolution had been far from generous, and although their respective ministers were on most friendly terms after the war, the members of their congregations were very willing to engage in a newspaper controversy whenever opportunity was offered, the columns of the *N. Y. Packet*, edited by Samuel Loudon an elder in the Scotch Church, being the favorite place of combat. The greatest Presbyterian grievance had been the denial of a charter to them in 1720 through the opposition of Trinity Church, and for this reason they had been obliged to place their property in the trust of

the General Assembly of Scotland until the general Act of April 6th 1784 for the organization of churches, after which it was placed in the hands of the church trustees. The ministers' salaries were raised by the renting of the pews. The officers of these churches in 1789 were

Elders.

JOHN BROOME	WILLIAM IRVING
PETER RICKER	JOHN THOMPSON
BENJAMIN STEYMETTS	ABRAHAM VAN GELDER
JOHN LASHER.	

Deacons.

JOHN KING	LEWIS NICHOLS
WILLIAM WILLIAMS	JOHN BINGHAM.

Trustees.

JOHN MURRAY	EBENEZER HAZARD
DANIEL PHOENIX	WILLIAM EDGAR
THOMAS ARDEN	ROBERT BRUCE
ALEXANDER STEWART	JOHN SLOSS HOBART.

There was also a school connected with these churches which in 1789 had no regular schoolhouse, but in January 1790 there appeared an advertisement for proposals for building such a house and during the summer of that year a brick building 25 feet wide by 40 feet long was erected on Nassau Street opposite the Middle Dutch Church. In December 1790 this school was attended by fifty children.

About the year 1757 differences arose in the Wall Street Church with regard to Psalmody and a part of that congregation having withdrawn, formed a new congregation and in 1768 erected a church on the south side of Little Queen (Cedar) Street somewhat nearer to Broadway than to Nassau Street, which was popularly known as the Scotch Presbyterian Church but more formally as the Associate Reformed Church, a title derived from the union in 1782 of the Associate and Reformed or Covenanter Presbyterian churches in America. This building, sixty-five and a half feet long by fifty-four and a half feet wide, was of stone and was used as a place of worship until 1836 when the congregation removed to a new building on Grand Street near the corner

of Crosby Street, whence it again moved in 1853 to the present building near the northeast corner of Fourteenth Street and Sixth Avenue. During the Revolution the Scotch church was used by the British as a prison and hospital but was repaired and reopened on the first of May 1784, there being ninety pews on the ground floor and sixty in the galleries. In the summer of 1761 the Rev. Dr. John Mason had been installed pastor of this church,—an office which he held until his death on the 19th of April 1792, receiving a salary of £400 after the Revolution. He is said to have been born in the County of Linlithgow, Scotland, in 1734, and received his theological education under the Rev. Alexander Moncrief at Abernethy. The year before his birth a portion of the Scotch Church, under the leadership of Ebenezer Erskine, had seceded from the Established Church because of their belief in the right of the people to choose their own ministers, which had been infringed upon by an Act passed in 1712 restoring to Scotch patrons the right of presentation to benefices, and under the auspices of these Seceders or the Associate Presbytery Dr. Mason received his instruction. In 1746 the Seceders themselves divided into two parties, known as the Burghers and the Antiburghers, on the question of taking an oath required of all town-officers to the effect that they professed and allowed "the true religion presently professed within this realm and authorized by the laws thereof." The Burghers were willing to take this oath, while the Antiburghers, of whom Dr. Mason was one, refused to profess as the true religion that of the Establishment from which they had seceded. It is said that at the age of twenty years Dr. Mason was able to discuss questions of history, philosophy, and theology in the Latin tongue with as much ease as in English, and in 1758 he became assistant professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy at Abernethy, his ordination as a minister taking place in the Spring of 1761. Upon his arrival in America he at once took a leading part in the management of the denomination to which he belonged, and earnestly deprecated the introduction into this country of "the dry, the fruitless, the disgracing and pernicious controversy about the Burgess

Oath," for which cause his name was stricken from the roll of the Synod in Scotland. He was a strong opponent of efforts to establish an archbishopric in New York before the Revolution and during the war was an ardent patriot, acting for the greater part of the time as a chaplain in the American army at West Point, during which service a pencil portrait was surreptitiously made of him by Kosciusko, which is the only known portrait of him. In 1782 the union of a part of the Associate and Reformed Presbyterian Churches in this country was effected largely by his exertions, and in 1783 he was chosen Moderator of the first General Assembly of the Associate Reformed Church. From 1779 to 1785 he was a trustee of the College of New Jersey, from which he received the degree of D.D. in 1786; he was one of the founders of the Society for the relief of Distressed Debtors, a member of the Manumission Society, and was for a number of years chaplain of the St. Andrew's Society, and a trustee of Columbia College. He is described as a man of medium stature, with black hair and eyes, polished in manner, very systematic in his habits, and decided in character. He was distinguished for his learning, sound judgment and knowledge of the world, and as a preacher was plain but energetic. In 1789 he resided at No. 63 Cortlandt Street. The trustees of the Scotch Church in 1789 were

JOHN SHEPHARD
ROBERT GOSMAN
JAMES RAYNOLDS
ROBERT HARPER

WILLIAM WILSON
JOHN THOMPSON
GEORGE LINDSAY
THOMAS ALLAN

ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Among the church officers and congregation there were also Dr. James Tillery, No. 86 Broadway; Samuel Loudon, editor of the N. Y. Packet; James Walker, dry goods merchant, No. 14 William Street; and John Young, schoolmaster, No. 7 Fair (Fulton) Street. In February 1791 Alexander Robertson presented the church with two lots and a house on King (Pine) Street to be used as a church school.

In 1785 an Associate Presbyterian congregation was formed

which in 1787 erected a plain frame building fifty feet long by twenty-four feet wide on the east side of Nassau Street somewhat nearer to John than to Fair (Fulton) Street. In 1824 the Presbyterians sold the building, known as the "Seceders Church," to the South Baptist Church and removed to another building on the northeast corner of Grand and Mercer Streets where they remained about thirty years, when they again removed to the corner of Grand and Crosby Streets, and about the year 1867 established themselves in the present Fourth Presbyterian Church on the south side of Thirty-fourth Street west of Sixth Avenue. The old Nassau Street building was occupied by the Baptists until 1849, when it ceased to be used as a church. The Seceders Church had no settled pastor until 1792 but during a part of the year 1789 its pulpit was occupied by the Rev. David Goodwillie, D.D. who was born near Edinburgh, Scotland, on the 26th of December, 1749. After graduation at the University of Edinburgh, he was licensed to preach in October 1778, and after preaching in Great Britain for ten years came to New York in May 1788, and occupied the pulpit of this church for three Sundays. He was ordained in Philadelphia in October 1788 and after serving in several places came to New York again in June 1789. In September of that year, however, he left the city to become pastor of a Scotch church in Barnet, Vt., where he remained until his death, August 2nd 1830, having been a member of the Vermont legislature, Town Clerk, Town Treasurer, and Postmaster of Barnet. He is said to have been a man of fine personal appearance, great versatility, close observation and profound common sense. His sermons were "intensely evangelical, and divided and subdivided with most systematic exactness." Among the officers of this church in 1789 were

Elders.

JOHN MCFARLAND.
ANDREW WRIGHT.

JOSEPH PATTERSON.
—— FENTON

Trustees.

PETER FENTON.
SAMUEL MILLIGAN
WILLIAM ROBERTSON

GEORGE CLELAND
JOHN MAC FARLANE
JOHN MCKEE.

The earliest Baptist church in the city was built in 1723 on the west side of Cliff Street north of Golden Hill (John) Street but the building was sold and the congregation dissolved by the year 1736. In 1762 another church was erected which, in 1789, stood on the west side of Gold Street about half way between Fair (Fulton) and Golden Hill (John) Street. Soon after its erection it was enlarged to a building fifty-two feet long by forty-two feet wide which was used as a cavalry stable during the Revolution but was repaired soon after the peace, and stood until March 1801 when a new building was begun on the same site. This new building was occupied until 1841 when the congregation removed to the southwest corner of Broome and Elizabeth Streets whence it again removed, about the year 1868, and in 1871 occupied the present First Baptist Church on the northwest corner of Park Avenue and Thirty-ninth Street. In 1789 this church was under the pastoral care of the Rev. Benjamin Foster, who was born in Danvers, Mass., on the 12th of June 1750, and had been converted to the Baptist doctrine by a debate on that subject in which he took part while at Yale College from which he was graduated in 1774. From 1776 until 1782 he was settled in Leicester, Mass., and then for three years in his native town. In 1785 he removed to Newport, R. I., whence he came to New York in September 1788. He received the degree of A.M. from Yale College in 1781 and from the College of Rhode Island in 1786, and also received that of S.T.D. from the latter in 1792. He remained pastor of the Gold Street Church until his death of yellow fever, on the 26th of August 1798. He is said to have had but few superiors in knowledge of Greek, Hebrew and Chaldee, and to have been distinguished for his zeal and hard work, preaching from four to six sermons a week during the last twelve or fourteen years of his life. In 1789 he resided at No. 10 Gold Street. According to Gillette's minutes of the Philadelphia Baptist Church Association the statistics of the Gold Street church for the year ending in October 1789 were, baptized 19; received by letter, 2; dismissed, 4; excommunicated, 13; deceased, 2; members, 196. The Messengers from this

church to the Philadelphia Association meetings in the years 1788, 1789 and 1790, were William Thompson; Samuel Dodge, carpenter, No. 6 Vandewater Street; Abraham Cannon, shoemaker, No. 28 Frankfort Street; Ezekiel Robins, hatter, No. 29 Queen Street; William Norris, shoemaker, Frankfort Street; Thomas Longly; Thomas Slow; William Durell, china merchant, No. 15 Little Dock Street; Thomas Montanye; and John Bedient, grocer, No. 16 Gold Street.

In June 1752 the first Moravian church was built on the south side of Fair (Fulton) Street half way between Dutch and William Streets, the minister's house forming part of the building. It was a small frame building the corner stone of which was laid June 16th 1751, the consecration services being held on the 18th of June 1752. During the Revolution the congregation was dispersed, but the church was re-opened soon after the declaration of peace and was used until 1844 when the congregation removed to the corner of Houston and Mott Streets, whence it again removed in 1867, and, after occupying temporary quarters, about the beginning of 1870 opened the present church on the southwest corner of Lexington Avenue and Thirtieth Street. Soon after the Revolution the Rev. James Birkby became pastor of this church and so continued until 1793. In 1789 he resided at No. 85 Fair (Fulton) Street.

About the year 1758 a congregation of German Calvinists was formed which in 1763 purchased for \$1250 the building on the east side of Nassau Street about half way between John Street and Maiden Lane which had formerly been used as a theatre. In 1765 this building was torn down and the corner stone of a new church upon the same site was laid on the 8th of March in that year. The German Reformed congregation, which was connected with the Classis of the Dutch Church, occupied this building until 1822 when it was sold to the South Baptist Church which worshipped in it until 1824 when it was again sold for business purposes and so used until its demolition in the summer of 1847. In 1822 the German Reformed congregation removed to No. 21 Forsyth Street near Walker Street where it remained until 1860, with the

exception of the interval between 1851 and 1856 during which period there was litigation for the possession of the church property and a portion of the congregation worshipped elsewhere. In 1861 it removed to the present building No. 131 Norfolk Street. In 1789 this church, which was commonly called the Baron's Church because of the attendance of Baron Steuben, was under the ministry of the Rev. Dr. John Daniel Gross, who was born in Germany in 1737. His first settlement in America was in Pennsylvania whence he removed to New York State in 1772 and labored in the Mohawk Valley until 1781, when he changed his field to Albany and Kingston, being exposed to great perils during the Revolution. He began his pastorate in New York City on the 26th of August 1783 and resigned it in May 1795 on account of ill-health. From New York he went to Canajoharie, where he remained until 1802, when, being wealthy through speculation in soldiers' land-warrants, he retired to a farm near Fort Plain where he died on the 25th of May 1812. He was a Regent of the State University from 1784 to 1787, trustee of Columbia College from 1787 to 1792, receiving the degree of S.T.D. from it in 1789 and being professor of German and Geography in it from 1784 to 1795, the teaching of Moral Philosophy also being entrusted to him in 1787. His salary as pastor of the German Church was £150 a year, of which he received about £107 during the year 1789, the total expenses of the church being £240 16s. 2d., of which £26 10s. were paid to George Gilfert, the organist. The number of marriages by Dr. Gross during the year was twenty-two, and baptisms fifty-five. Among the officers and members of this church in 1789 were Christian Will, pewterer, No. 4 Water St.; Henry Will, treasurer of the church; William Gardiner, tailor, No. 9 King St.; Caspar Stamler, butcher; William Snyder, merchant, Chatham St.; John Spies, shoemaker, No. 24 Chatham St.; Henry Fredrich, glover, 36 Broadway; John Jacob Astor, who was church treasurer for several years; Maurice Alhart, blacksmith; Philip Jacobs, merchant, 20 Broadway; George Shelding, hair dresser, No. 70 Queen Street; John Milledoll, tobacconist, 102 Queen St.; Nicholas Meade, baker,

No. 55 Magazine St.; and Henry Limberger, baker, in Dey St.

The next denomination to build a church in the city was the Methodists, who first met in a private house, about the year 1760, and then in a rigging loft at No. 120 William Street, which was demolished about the year 1855. From this building they removed to the John Street Church or Wesley Chapel which was dedicated on the 30th of October 1768. It was situated on the south side of Golden Hill (John) Street between Nassau and William Streets and was a low stone building forty-two feet wide by sixty feet long, the outside of the walls being covered with blue plaster. The roof was peaked, and, at first there was but one entrance in the front of the building, but entrances for the galleries were afterwards made at each side of the main entrance. Over each of the doors there was a window, and the sides of the building each contained four windows. An old Dutch building which stood in front of the northwest corner of the church was used as a parsonage. In 1817 this church was replaced by a large granite church erected on the same site, which, in turn, was demolished for the erection of the present smaller building, No. 44 and 46 John Street, in 1841, the brick stores on each side of it being built at the same time on the church property. During the Revolution the John Street church was for a time used by the British as a prison, but the congregation were allowed to worship in it during the greater part of the British occupation of the city, being considered to be well affected toward England. In 1789 the settled minister of this church was the Rev. John Dickins, who then resided at No. 20 John Street. Mr. Dickins was born in London in 1746 and received a good education in England, whence he came to America before the Revolution. He became an itinerant minister in 1777 and after several brief locations was settled in New York City from 1783 to 1785, when he again travelled for a year, but returned to the city in 1786 and remained there until the establishment of the Book Room in Philadelphia of which he became superintendent in the latter part of 1789, holding that position until his death, of yellow fever, on the

27th of September 1798. He is said to have been a man of fine intellectual powers, an excellent mathematician, and a good Latin and Greek scholar. As a preacher he was attractive in style and manner, and forcible in reasoning. Robert Cloud, an exhorter of great power who was not located until 1812, was also in the city in 1789. The Elder in New York in 1789 was Thomas Morrell who was born in the city November 22nd 1747. During the Revolution he acted as an officer in the American army where he served with great distinction for about two years. In the latter part of 1777, having been obliged by failing health caused by wounds to leave the army, he resumed his business as a merchant in Elizabethtown, N. J., where he remained until March 1787 when he began to ride as a travelling preacher. In June 1789 he was appointed Elder in New York City, where he remained for five years. He was subsequently stationed in Philadelphia and Baltimore and from 1802 until 1804 was again in New York. The latter part of his life was passed in Elizabethtown where he died on the 9th of August 1838. It is said that his love of his country was second only to his love of God and that when eighty-three years of age he delivered a Fourth of July oration "worthy of one whose blood had actually formed part of the price of his country's liberties." In person he was short and stout, having a small head, bright blue eyes, thin lips, and a general appearance of great firmness. He was very energetic, a close observer, and, while making no pretensions to learning, was a practical and powerful preacher, delivering several sermons when in the eighty-ninth year of his age. All of the American Methodists, however, had not been of this patriotic type and that fact was not forgotten in 1789. When, on the 29th of May in that year, the Methodist Conference then assembled in New York sent a letter of salutation to the President of the United States signed by Bishops Coke and Asbury this action by the former attracted some attention. An "Inquirer" in the Daily Advertiser of June 17th wished to know whether *Bishop* Coke was the individual formerly known as "little *Doctor* Coke," who, when in England, had been a bitter opponent of America. This inquisi-

tive individual further wrote: "If the same little Doctor Coke I refer to has translated himself from Mr. Wesley's societies in England to the *Bishopric* of the Methodist *Episcopal* church in America, he ought to give us full proof of his *political* conversion. . . . If *Bishop* Coke is this same *Doctor* Coke, no American, but a *British* subject, uniformly opposed to us in principle and conduct through the whole of the war, is it not the extreme of *hypocrisy* for such a man to take the lead of the *Episcopalians* in an address to the President of our republican government." To this, Elder Morrell, over the signature of "A Member of the Methodist Episcopal Church," replied on the 19th of June that having but recently become a member of that church he knew nothing of Bishop Coke's actions during the Revolution, but that his sermons in America since that time showed his acceptance of the new order of things, and that Article XXIII. of the Methodist Church was sufficient proof of the true Americanism of that body. He also wished to know by what *right* "Inquirer" made such a demand for knowledge of the political opinions of another, and stated that the latter should have made his attack while the bishop was in this country and could have replied to it, but that if he was ignorant of the constitution of the Methodist Church he could obtain full information upon that subject by applying under his true name at No. 20 John Street. "Inquirer," however, had a good deal of material upon which to base his attack, and on the 24th of June made another bitter onslaught upon the Methodists by quoting a number of Wesley's anti-American remarks, and asking where Bishop Coke got his consecration. The bishop had sailed for Liverpool on the 5th of June and upon his arrival in England met the usual fate of a trimmer by being roundly abused for his lack of loyalty to that country. The John Street congregation in 1789 numbered about 300 persons of whom a considerable portion were negroes, which may account for the appearance of a colored man in its pulpit in 1786, which was probably the first time that one of his race occupied a New York pulpit. The N. Y. Packet of September 11th 1786 mentions the fact thus: "Lately came to this city a very sin-

gular black man, who, it is said is quite ignorant of letters, yet he has preached in the Methodist Church several times, to the acceptance of several well-disposed judicious people. He delivers his discourses with great zeal and pathos, and his language and connection is by no means contemptible. It is the wish of several of our correspondents that this same *black man* may be so far successful as to rouse the dormant zeal of numbers of *our slothful white people*, who seem very little affected about the concerns of another world." Among the members of the John Street church in 1789 were William Lupton, merchant, No. 22 John St.; Paul Hick, shoemaker, No. 43 William Street; Abraham Russell, mason, No. 16 Crown Street; John Staples, merchant, No. 67 King Street; Henry Newton; Stephen Dando; Philip Arcularius, broker, No. 7 Ann Street; Gilbert Coutant; and John Bleeker, grocer, No. 198 Queen Street.

At the Methodist Conference, consisting of twenty members, held in the city in May and June 1789, it was decided to build another Methodist church, and in August seven lots were bought for that purpose for £350 upon which a stone building was erected and dedicated on the 8th of November 1789. It was situated on the east side of Second (Forsyth) Street near the north corner of Division Street, and stood until 1833 when a new building was erected on the same site which is still occupied.

The first Roman Catholic congregation in the city was formed in November 1783 under the pastorship of Rev. Andrew Nugent, and worshipped for a time in a building owned by Trinity Church in Vauxhall Garden near the North River between Warren and Chamber Streets. On the 11th of June 1785 this congregation was incorporated and soon afterwards purchased from Trinity Church five lots on the southeast corner of Barclay and Church Streets upon which a church was erected, the corner stone of which was laid on the 5th of October 1785 by Don Diego de Gardoqui, the Spanish ambassador. This building, known as St. Peter's Church, of brick, eighty-one feet long by forty-eight feet wide, was consecrated before its completion by Rev. Mr. Nugent on the 4th of No-

vember 1786 and stood until the year 1836, when the present building, opened in 1838, was erected. Until the erection of St. Patrick's Cathedral in 1815 this was the only Roman Catholic church in the city. In the latter part of 1787 Mr. Nugent was removed from the pastorate of St. Peter's, and the Rev. William O'Brien, a Dominican, took his place. It is said that the Archbishop of Mexico had been his fellow-student at Bologna, and he accordingly began his service by a journey to Mexico for the purpose of collecting funds and there obtained \$4920, a gift of \$1000 from the Bishop and clergy of Puebla de los Angeles, and several paintings for the adornment of the church. He remained in charge of St. Peter's until his death on the 14th of May 1816. There is a tradition that Charles III. of Spain contributed a large sum toward the erection of the first St. Peter's church, but among those who are more certainly known to have been early benefactors of that church were José Roiz Silva, a wine merchant then at No. 1 Beekman Street; James Steward; Andrew Morris, chandler, No. 48 Great Dock Street; Gibbon Burke, grocer, No. 161 Water Street; William Mooney, upholsterer, No. 14 Nassau Street; Charles Naylor, merchant, No. 48 William Street; George Barnwell, merchant, No. 205 Water Street; and John Sullivan, grocer, in Moore Street.

The Daily Advertiser of November 6th 1789 contains a notice that the Independent Congregational Church under the pastoral charge of Rev. Mr. George Wall would hold service in their new meeting-house at the upper end of Great George Street on the following Sunday. This was probably the first Congregational church building in the city but no reference is made to it as a church on the city maps until 1803 when it appears on the west side of Broadway a short distance below Leonard Street. After that year there is apparently no further mention of it. The name of the Rev. George Wall, residence at No. 1 Thomas Street, first appears in the directory of 1791, and in 1795 he removed to No. 329 Broadway, where he resided until his death. All the information which the present writer has been able to gather concerning him is derived from his will and the certificate of his death. By his will, dated

October 13th 1803, he left all his worldly possessions to Mrs. Jane Matlock, widow of Rev. John Matlock of New York City; and the record of his death recites that he was a native of Scotland who died of apoplexy at his residence on Broadway on the 12th of September 1813 in the 64th year of his age. He was buried in the Presbyterian cemetery.

V.

AMUSEMENTS.

AMONG public amusements the theatre was the most popular. It is said that theatrical performances were given in New York as early as the year 1732, but the first entertainment of this kind of which anything is definitely known was given on the 5th of March 1750 by a company of comedians from Philadelphia who hired a room in Nassau Street and began their performances with *Richard III.*,—the first recorded production of one of Shakespeare's plays in America. This company disbanded in July 1751 and nothing is known of them beyond their names and the plays which they produced. The next company which appeared was managed by Robert Upton, an Englishman who had been sent from London to prepare the way for a company from that city. Disregarding the mission for which he was employed he gave performances for his own benefit from December 1751 until March 1752 when he took his departure. Those by whom he had been sent to this country were members of what was long known as *The Old American Company* who made their first appearance in America on the 5th of September 1752 in Williamsburg, Va., and arrived in New York in June 1753. A new theatre was built for them upon the site of the old one in Nassau Street and their first season lasted from September 1753 until March 1754, when they left New York for four years, and, upon their return in December 1758, erected a new building on *Cruger's Wharf* near *Old Slip*, the Nassau Street theatre having given place to the *German Reformed Church*. After performing from December 1758 until February 1759, this company was again absent from New York until August 1761 when a new theatre was built on the south side of *Beek-*

man Street east of Nassau Street, in which they performed from November 1761 until April 1762; but before their next return in 1767 this building had been destroyed during the excitement resulting from the Stamp Act, and in the summer of 1767 another building was erected which was used as a theatre for thirty years. It was situated on the north side of John Street about half way between Broadway and Nassau Street, standing about sixty feet back from the street, the entrance being through a rough wooden covered-way. The building was constructed principally of wood, was painted red, and contained a pit, two rows of boxes and a gallery, the value of tickets to an audience which filled the house being eight hundred dollars. From the date of its opening, December 7th 1767, the John Street Theatre was the only theatre in the city until the 13th of January 1798 when the last performance was given in it, its successor being the Old Park Theatre which was opened on the 29th of January 1798. The Old American Company played in the John Street Theatre at intervals until the end of the year 1774 and in February 1775 departed to Jamaica owing to a recommendation by Congress on October 24th 1774 that public amusements should cease on account of the critical condition of public affairs. During the British occupation of the city the British officers amused themselves with theatrical entertainments in the same building, which was then called the Theatre Royal, and the next appearance of The Old American Company in New York was in September 1785 when the theatre was opened for a "Moral Lecture," that term probably being used to avoid objections to a theatrical entertainment. On the 23rd of September 1785, however, a regular theatrical season was opened by a portion of the company and in spite of opposition by the Common Council, and virulent newspaper attacks, the theatre became a firmly rooted amusement in New York. In 1789 the Old American Company was under the management of Lewis Hallam, the younger, and John Henry. It had undergone many changes in membership since its first arrival in America and of those who had appeared in Williamsburg in 1752 Lewis Hallam was the sole representative. Born in Lon-

don in 1740 he had made his first appearance on the stage at the age of twelve years, at the company's first performance in America and, although as the servant of Portia in the Merchant of Venice he had but one line to repeat, his courage had failed him and bursting into tears he had left the stage without uttering a word. He had first appeared in New York at the Nassau Street Theatre on the 17th of September 1753, and from 1758 until 1774 he was without a rival in America. He was a man of middle stature, slender and straight, and took all parts from tragedy to that of Harlequin in pantomime, in which his activity was greatly admired. A scar near one of his eyes, received while fencing, slightly marred the expression of his face but does not seem to have seriously interfered with the facial requirements of his calling, and his acting proved acceptable to American audiences for fifty years. He became manager of the company during the Revolutionary period and died in Philadelphia on the 1st of November 1808 having retired from the stage in 1806. His partner John Henry was born in Dublin and is said to have appeared at Drury Lane Theatre in London in 1762 without success. His first appearance in America was in Philadelphia, October 6th 1767, the advertisement stating that he came from the theatre in Jamaica. He first appeared in New York at the John Street Theatre, December 7th 1767, and after the Revolution appears as co-manager with Hallam. He is described as a handsome man; six feet in height, and excellent in Irish characters and in that of Othello, in which he appeared as a negro with woolly hair clad in the uniform of a British officer. He was a martyr to the gout and for that reason kept a one-horse carriage driven by a negro boy upon which were emblazoned two crutches with the motto "This or These." His power as an actor was probably accurately described by Hallam when he said that Henry was an excellent amateur actor. He remained in partnership with Hallam until 1794 when they quarreled and Henry and his wife withdrew from the stage. He died, April 25th 1795, while on a journey to Rhode Island in a coasting vessel. The other members of the company were Mr. Owen Morris, Mr. Stephen Wools,

Mr. Thomas Wignell, Mr. Harper, Mr. Charles Biddle, Mr. Lake, Mr. Heard, Mr. Gay, Mr. Ryan, Mr. John Durang, Mrs. Henry, Mrs. Morris, Mrs. Harper, Miss Take, Mrs. Williamson, Mrs. Hamilton, and Mrs. Durang. Of these Morris, Wignell, and Wools were joint proprietors of the company with Hallam and Henry, the others receiving salaries from the proprietors. Mr. Morris had probably first appeared in New York in 1758 and was favorably received in the parts of old men which he is said to have acted until the natural infirmities of old age gave the appearance of an excellent imitation. In 1788 he was a small, shrivelled old man with a weak voice. He left the American Company in 1791 to join those who built the Old Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia, where he died in 1809, at the age of eighty-four years. Mr. Wools, who was born in Bath, England, in 1729, first appeared in America in Philadelphia on the 21st of November 1766 and appeared in New York for the first time in 1767. He was the chief singer in the company and is said to have pursued that vocation until long after he had ceased to possess the requisites for it. He died in New York on the 14th of June 1799. Mr. Wignell, who was Hallam's cousin, came to New York from London in 1774 and being informed on the day after his arrival that Congress had recommended the cessation of public amusements, departed to Jamaica and probably made his first appearance in New York in the John Street Theatre on the 12th of December 1785. In 1789 he became a member of the St. George's Society. He is described as a short, blue-eyed man with an athletic figure and remarkably small feet. After performing humorous parts with the American Company until 1791 he left it to become manager of the Old Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia, where he died in 1803. Mr. Harper, who was born on the Island of Jamaica, first appeared in New York in November 1785 and was not remarkable as an actor. He died in 1813, having appeared in New York for the last time in 1805. Mr. John Durang was a native of Lancaster, Pa., who attained popularity as the dancer of the company and died in Philadelphia in March 1822 aged fifty-four years. The other male

members of the company were actors of the poorest description. Mr. Biddle and Mr. Lake had first appeared in New York in 1785; Mr. Ryan, the prompter, was a native of New York, and in 1789 was supporting an aged father and mother from his salary; and Mr. Heard was confined to his bed by illness for a number of months in that year and therefore did not take a great part in the season's performances. He left the American Company in 1793. Mr. Biddle died in Richmond, Va., on the 27th of November 1790. Of the female members of the company, Mrs. Henry was the greatest favorite with the public. She was the youngest of three sisters, Ann, Fanny, and Maria Storer, all of whom made their first appearance on the American stage in Philadelphia in 1767 and with all of whom Mr. Henry lived in matrimonial alliance of more or less irregularity. She is described as "a perfect fairy in person" who wore such enormous hoops that upon her coming to the theatre in full dress Mr. Henry was obliged to slide her out of the carriage sidewise and then carry her in his arms to the stage door. She is said to have been the best singer who appeared in New York before 1792 but to have been rather small for tragedy parts and to have caused frequent changes of programme through her silliness and caprice. She died in Philadelphia soon after the death of Mr. Henry. Mrs. Morris, who was the rival of Mrs. Henry for public favor, was tall and well-formed and made a fine appearance in both tragedy and comedy. It is said, however, that "her enunciation was very imperfect and her education still worse," while her poor memory made the prompter's services frequently necessary. She left the Old American Company with her husband in 1791 and died in Philadelphia about the year 1825 at the age of seventy-three years, being the last survivor of the American actors who had appeared before the Revolution. Mrs. Harper was without personal beauty but acted the parts of old women acceptably. She first appeared in New York with her husband in 1785 and probably died in October 1791. Miss Tuke was one of two actresses of that name, of American birth, who apparently made their first appearance in November 1785. Miss Sarah Tuke died in Ches-

ter, Pa., in the last week of August 1787, and the Miss Tuke here mentioned is described as being at this time "young, comely, and awkward." She afterwards married Mr. Hallam, making her first appearance as Mrs. Hallam in 1792, and is said to have become beautiful, graceful, and an actress of merit. She appeared with her husband in New York until 1806 when both retired from the stage. Miss or Mrs. Durang acted small parts and joined in dancing with Mr. Durang. Mrs. Hamilton and Mrs. Williamson both apparently made their first appearance in New York in 1789. The former left the company in 1795 and is said to have died in Albany in November 1834, and the latter did not appear on the New York stage for any great length of time.

On the 28th of March 1789 Hallam and Henry advertised that the theatre would be open on Easter Monday, and on the 13th of April it was announced that the first performance would be given the next evening. Tickets were to be obtained of Mr. Philips at the theatre office from 10 to 12 A.M. and on days of performance from three to five P.M., and also at Gaine's bookstore, the Sign of the Bible, on Hanover Square. Performances were given three times a week, the doors being opened at six or half past six o'clock, and the curtain rising at seven o'clock. To avoid confusion ladies and gentlemen were requested to order their servants to take up and set down with their horses' heads to the East River, and the old formula "*Vivant Rex et Regiua*" with which theatrical advertisements ended previous to the Revolution was now supplanted by "*Vivat Respublica*." The price of admission was for boxes 8s., pit 6s., and gallery 4s., being higher than that charged in Philadelphia where boxes were 7s. 6d., pit 5s., and gallery 3s. 9d.

On the 20th of April it was announced that the theatre would be closed for a time owing to the illness of several of the actors, and although on the 4th of May it was re-opened, on the 18th of May the managers apologized for a disappointment in two previous performances owing to the illness of four actors including Mrs. Henry. The performances then continued until the 12th of June when the building was closed

for repairs, one of the improvements being the introduction of ventilators. Being re-opened on the 22nd of June, performances were given in the improved building until the 8th of July when it was announced that it would be closed until the 17th of August on account of the warm weather; but the re-opening did not take place until the 7th of September. From that date the performances were given, with occasional intermission due to the jealousies and personal encounters of the actors, until the 15th of December, when, after one "Last Night" on the 9th, and one "Positively Last Night" on the 11th the season closed. From the 14th of April to the 15th of December the managers advertised 61 performances, some of which never took place, including 31 comedies, 6 tragedies, 26 farces, 9 comic operas and 2 pantomimes, by more than 35 different authors. The plays were as follows:

April 14.	The Stratagem.	ANON.
	True Born Irishman.	MACKLIN.
" 16.	Earl of Essex.	BROOKE.
	Musical Lady.	COLMAN.
" 18.	Clandestine Marriage.	GARRICK.
	High Life Below Stairs.	TOWNLEY.
May 4.	The Wonder.	CENTLIVRE.
	Musical Lady.	COLMAN.
" 6.	School for Scandal.	SHERIDAN.
	Poor Soldier.	O'KEEFE.
" 8.	The Brothers.	CUMBERLAND.
	The Liar.	FOOTE.
" 11.	School for Scandal.	SHERIDAN.
	Poor Soldier.	O'KEEFE.
" 13.	The Rivals.	SHERIDAN.
	The Ghost.	ANON.
" 15.	Careless Husband.	COLLEY CIBBER.
	Padlock.	BICKERSTAFF.
" 16.	Postponed.	
" 18.	Postponed.	
" 20.	Roman Father.	WHITEHEAD.
	The Liar.	FOOTE.
" 22.	The Brothers.	CUMBERLAND.
	Miss in her Teens.	GARRICK.
" 25.	Clandestine Marriage.	GARRICK.
	Cross Purposes.	O'BRIEN.

May 27.	She Stoops to Conquer.	GOLDSMITH.
	Widow's Vow.	INCHBALD.
" 29.	The Gamester.	MOORE.
	The Madcap.	FIELDING.
" 30.	George Barnwell.	LILLO.
	Poor Soldier.	O'KEEFE.
June 1.	West Indian.	CUMBERLAND.
	Mayor of Garret.	FOOTE.
" 2.	Fashionable Lover.	CUMBERLAND.
	Register Office.	REED.
" 4.	The Heiress.	BURGOYNE.
	Rosina or The Reapers.	MRS. BROOKE.
" 5.	Clandestine Marriage.	GARRICK.
	The Citizen.	MURPHY.
" 8.	Richard III.	SHAKESPEARE.
	True Born Irishman.	MACKLIN.
" 10.	The Contrast.	TYLER.
	Widow's Vow.	INCHBALD.
" 12.	The Deserter.	JOHN HENRY.
	Who's the Dupe.	COWLEY.
" 22.	He would be a Soldier.	PILLON.
	Rosina or the Reapers.	MRS. BROOKE.
" 26.	The Duenna.	SHERIDAN.
	Robinson Crusoe.	SHERIDAN.
" 29.	The Cholerick Man.	CUMBERLAND.
	Robinson Crusoe.	SHERIDAN.
July 1.	He would be a Soldier.	PILLON.
	Who's the Dupe.	COWLEY.
" 6.	The Deserter.	JOHN HENRY.
	Inkle and Yarico.	COLMAN.
Sept. 7.	The Father.	DUNLAP.
	Who's the Dupe.	COWLEY.
" 9.	The Father.	DUNLAP.
	Like Master, Like Man.	O'KEEFE.
" 11.	The Father.	DUNLAP.
	High Life Below Stairs.	TOWNLEY.
" 14.	Belle's Stratagem.	COWLEY.
	Inkle and Yarico.	COLMAN.
" 16.	The Father.	DUNLAP.
	Catherine and Petruchio.	GARRICK.
" 21.	The Wonder.	CENTLIVRE.
	The Old Maid.	MURPHY.
" 24.	English Merchant.	COLMAN.
	The Dead Alive.	O'KEEFE.

Sept. 28.	A Word to the Wise. Poor Soldier.	KELLY. O'KEEFE.
Oct. 1.	All in the Wrong. Poor Paddy's Whole History. All's Well that Ends Well.	MURPHY. ANON. JOHN HENRY.
" 5.	Merry Wives of Windsor. Barataria.	SHAKESPEARE. PILLON.
" 8.	The Drummer. Agreeable Surprise. The Shipwreck.	ADDISON. O'KEEFE. ANON.
" 12.	School for Scandal. The Critic.	SHERIDAN. SHERIDAN.
" 19.	Duplicity. Cheats of Scapin.	HOLCROFT. OTWAY.
" 22.	Postponed.	
" 26.	Gustavus Vasa. The Apprentice.	BROOKE. MURPHY.
" 30.	The Tempest. Love in a Camp.	SHAKESPEARE. O'KEEFE.
Nov. 3.	School for Wives. Fair American.	KELLY. PILLON.
" 5.	Provoked Husband. Fair American.	VAN BRUGH. PILLON.
" 9.	Maid of the Mill. Half an Hour after Supper. Fair American.	BICKERSTAFF. ANON. PILLON.
" 13.	School for Wives. The Invasion.	KELLY. PILLON.
" 16.	The Jealous Wife. Wapping Landlady. The Apprentice. Les Ombres Chinoises.	COLMAN. ANON. MURPHY. ANON.
" 19.	The Miser. The Air-Balloon. Les Ombres Italiennes.	FIELDING. PILLON. ANON.
" 24.	The Toy. The Critic. Darby's Return.	O'KEEFE. SHERIDAN. DUNLAP.
" 27.	Postponed.	
" 28.	Postponed.	
" 30.	Cymon and Sylvia. Prisoner at Large.	GARRICK. O'KEEFE.
Dec. 2.	Postponed.	
" 4.	Postponed.	

Dec. 7.	The Toy.	O'KEEFE.
	Man and Wife.	COLMAN.
" 9.	English Merchant.	COLMAN.
	Prisoner at Large.	O'KEEFE.
" 11.	The Busy Body.	CENTLIVRE.
	Robinson Crusoe.	SHERIDAN.
" 15.	The Heiress.	BURGOYNE.
	The Miser.	FIELDING.
	Darby's Return.	DUNLAP.

In addition to these plays, a monody was delivered on two occasions in "Eulogium of the American Chiefs who fell during the War;" at Mrs. Morris' benefit an entertainment was given entitled an "Exhibition of Pictures or the World as it Goes," consisting of humorous and satirical sketches of characters by G. A. Stevens, Foote, Pilon, and other authors; Mr. Durang generally danced a hornpipe between the play and farce of which the performance consisted; and at Mr. Wools' first benefit a Masonic Anthem was sung by brothers Wools and Harper. The greater number of the plays produced had been performed in New York in previous years, but several of them were new in the city, while others were performed this season for the first time in America. Those which were new in New York were The Careless Husband, Who's the Dupe, The Cholerick Man, Inkle and Yarico, Duplicity, Gustavus Vasa, The Apprentice, The Fair American, The Miser, and the Air Balloon. Those which were performed for the first time in America were He would be a Soldier, The Father, The Dead Alive, The Critic, The Toy, and Darby's Return. Forty-six of the plays were acted but once during the season, twenty-one of them were acted twice, while School for Scandal, George Barnwell, Who's the Dupe, The Apprentice, and The Fair American were acted three times, and The Poor Soldier and The Father were honored with four performances. The latter was received with especial interest as the production of an American author, who was honored with an "Author's Night" on the 11th of September when the play was given for the second time. The first play by an American author ever acted by a regular company of comedians was The

Prince of Parthia, a tragedy written in 1759 by Thomas Godfrey, a native of Philadelphia, and advertised for performance in that city by the American Company on the 24th of April 1767. The next American play was *The Contrast*, a comedy written by Royal Tyler, the first performance of which was given in New York on the 16th of April 1786, while a farce, by the same author, entitled *May Day in Town* was performed for the first time in the John Street Theatre on the 19th of May 1787. *The Father* was therefore the fourth American play to be acted by a regular theatrical company, and on the 26th of August 1789 the *Daily Gazette* contained the following announcement: "The town is, at present, in very great expectation of seeing a comedy, now in rehearsal, which is the production of a gentleman in this place, much celebrated for his wit and humour; besides his great ability in the Dramatick, he has a peculiar talent in the Lyrick way of writing, and that in a manner wholly new and unknown. As soon as three hundred Shandean subscribers are obtained, the work will be put to the press." This talented author was William Dunlap, the historian of the American Theatre and of the City of New York, artist, theatrical manager, and the author of forty-nine published plays, the second of which, a farce entitled *Darby's Return*, was performed for the first in New York at Mr. Wignell's benefit on the 24th of November 1789. *The Father* appeared in printed form as acted, on the 14th of September 1789, price 2s. 6d., and *Darby's Return* appeared in print on the 3rd of December 1789. All of these American plays were of the poorest quality, but *Darby's Return* has the distinction of being one of the few things that ever caused George Washington to laugh. He was present at its first performance, and, according to the author's account, after some evident embarrassment at references to himself in the farce, Washington "indulged in that which was with him extremely rare, a hearty laugh." So "extremely rare" was this indulgence with Washington that the editor of the *Daily Advertiser* made especial mention of the incident, as follows: "Our beloved Ruler seemed to unbend and for the moment give himself to the pleasures arising from the gratifications of the two

most noble organs of sense, the Eye and the Ear." The newspaper dramatic criticism of the time is fairly represented by the description of *The Deserter* as an "elegant, tender, sentimental and well conducted Dramatic Entertainment," while *Darby's Return* was considered to be "replete with the happiest illusions to interesting events and very delicately turned compliments."

The Deserter or *School for Soldiers* seems to have aroused the enthusiasm of the gallery to a high pitch. A newspaper account of the performance given on the 12th of June reads as follows: "A more profound attention was never known to be given to any piece through the whole performance. A circumstance which indicated the real interest which the gallery took in the fate of the *Deserter* ought not to be omitted: as soon as the soldiers on the stage demonstrated their joy, by huzzaing, for the pardon which was announced to have been obtained from the late Commander in Chief for the *Deserter*, the audience in the gallery spontaneously gave the same proof of sensibility and satisfaction." The play of *Gustavus Vasa*, however, which was expected to give especial satisfaction to Americans because of its having been suppressed in England on account of its seditious sentiments, does not seem to have been received with great favor. A newspaper rhymster made the following criticism of its performance, which probably gives a correct estimate of the acting of the Old American Company at this time:

"If alone to the SOCK the Theatrical Troop
Would their poor exhibitions confine,
Some success in attempts to amuse, they might hope—
For in that, if at all, they may shine.

But when in the BUSKIN they vainly attempt
To raise our compassion and fear,
Our mirth they excite, nor are free from contempt—
For as ranting Buffoons they appear.

Tho' Vasa the Patriot applause may command,
And his Virtue Americans please,
Yet when coldly portrayed by this Theatric Band,
The reverse of applause *scorn* decrees."

The most successful performances were, of course, those which were honored by the presence of the President, his proposed attendance at the theatre being duly advertised in the newspapers. The first of these occasions was on the 11th of May, when the President, Vice-President, Governor, and many members of Congress witnessed the performance of *School for Scandal* and the *Poor Soldier*, the boxes of Washington and Adams being decorated with the Arms of the United States and that of Governor Clinton with the State Arms. On the 5th of June the President and his wife, Robert Morris and Mrs. Morris, General and Mrs. Knox, Baron Steuben and other distinguished persons attended the performance of *The Clandestine Marriage* and upon this occasion "the reiterated plaudits bestowed upon the various parts of the performance designated the merits of the actors;—and it is but just to say that, animated by the countenance of such illustrious auditors, the characters were supported with great spirit and propriety. Mrs. Henry and Mrs. Morris played with their usual *naïvete* and uncommon animation." On the 24th of November—the memorable occasion when Washington laughed—the audience rose at the President's appearance and greeted him with the warmest acclamations, "the genuine effusion of the hearts of Freemen." At this time Washington made the following entry in his diary: "Went to the play in the evening,—sent tickets to the following ladies and gentlemen and invited them to seats in my box, viz.:—Mrs. Adams, (lady of the Vice-President,) Genl. Schuyler and lady, Mr. King and lady, Majr. Butler and lady, Col. Hamilton and lady, Mrs. Green,—all of whom accepted and came, except Mrs. Butler, who was indisposed." His last visit to the theatre in 1789 was at Mr. Henry's benefit on the 30th of November when *Cymon and Sylvia*, a monody by Mrs. Henry on the American Chiefs who fell during the Revolution, and O'Keefe's comedy *The Prisoner at Large*, were presented before the most brilliant and numerous audience which had been seen for several years. Upon this occasion Washington presented tickets to Dr. Johnson and lady, Mr. Dalton and lady, the Chief Justice of the United States and lady, Secre-

tary of War and lady, Baron de Steuben and Mrs. Green. Of the orchestra of the theatre, no mention is made in the advertisements, but the music was probably acceptable to the audience, for in 1786 complaint was made that it did not continue through the whole of the half hour required for the preparation of the farce with which the performance ended. It is said that the leader of the orchestra was a German by the name of Phila, who composed the "President's March" from which the tune of "Hail Columbia" was afterwards developed. The stage scenery was at times deemed worthy of especial mention. Thus, on June 26th it was advertised that the pantomime of Robinson Crusoe would be presented with "the most brilliant display of Scenery ever exhibited in the Western World," as described in Capt. Cook's Voyages to Otaheite, New Zealand, etc., with the exception of the scene of the Falls of the Passaic. A description of this latter scene in the Daily Advertiser of July 3rd 1789 states that the stage was darkened and then by a gradually increasing light the Genius of Columbia rose from the water and at a motion of his wand the new Federal Hall appeared and ascended to the clouds supported by the Temple of Concord in the form of a superb transparency with emblematic devices, the pillars supporting it being marked Wisdom, Fortitude, Virtue, and Justice. The name of the painter of this triumph of scenic art was unfortunately omitted. An attempt at realism was also made in the performance of the Shipwreck by the introduction of a "real balloon." The course of the American Company, however, during the season of 1789 was not altogether smooth. There had always been more or less opposition to the theatre in America and this season like most of the previous ones was marked by bitter warfare in the newspapers between the supporters and opponents of theatrical entertainments. In October 1789 this conflict was renewed by the publication of several articles by "Rusticus" in favor of the theatre. "Theron" objected to these and propounded twenty-seven queries to "Rusticus," the last of which was: "Would the sound of the Archangel's trumpet or any summons to the invisible world be welcome to Rusticus or any ad-

mirer of the stage, should that summons find him in the gallery, pit, or box." Rusticus, of course, answered these queries seriatim and stated that such a summons "would not be more unwelcome to Rusticus in the box, pit, or gallery, than elsewhere." But Rusticus had one weak point;—he was a poet, and closed his reply with ;

"Theron adieu ; no more in holy rage
Do thou attempt to lash the perverse age.
For know, in spite of all that thou can'st preach,
The Drama soars above thy sordid reach."

To this "Theron" scathingly replied : "Surely none will suspect me of adulation when I declare that the poetry of Rusticus exceeds even his logic." "Rusticus," however, returned to the combat and declared that Theron's article was a mere plagiarism and a mangled version of arguments on the same subject previously published by Dr. Witherspoon. His parting shot at "Theron" was :

"O could thy baby hands resign the pen
And leave a subject far above thy ken,
Some meaner theme might suit thy grovelling soul
Where none would censure or thy wit controul."

"Vindex" then joined in the fray, denouncing "Theron" as a "religious enthusiast," and the warfare ended by "Theron" expressing his contempt for both his adversaries. More dangerous, however, to its welfare were the dissensions in the company itself. The jealousies between the actors seem to have reached their climax about the 12th of October as on the 15th of that month Mr. Henry published a card stating that he had been confined to his bed for several days by severe bruises received in a quarrel "unexpected, unsought, and most maliciously misrepresented." The clue to this affair is found in a card of October 16th, signed "Querist," deprecating the unmerited censure of the managers for a disappointment in *School for Scandal* on the 12th and laying the blame upon Mr. Harper who had received due notice that Mr. Henry was too ill to appear that night and should there-

fore have changed the programme. The performance on the 12th of October had been for Mrs. Harper's benefit and her husband had evidently taken revenge for a disappointment by pommelling the manager. On the 18th of October, however, the benefits were resumed and on the 24th Mr. Henry published a statement that the quarrel had been amicably settled. But this statement merely brought out a card from "One of the Boxes" to Mr. Henry to the effect that the public had no interest in his private quarrels but were disgusted at his refusal to act through personal spite toward Mr. Harper. He also thought that Mrs. Henry might act more frequently than she did to entitle her to a benefit and that she should act in benefits for others when she had had such a profitable one herself; people were well-nigh tired of old plays and of seeing indifferent actresses when they might have good ones. To this Mr. Henry replied that he had not appeared because he had been confined to his bed, and that Mrs. Henry would act when asked to do so by the other actors, which had happened but once, when she had an influenza and could not sing. Mrs. Williamson's benefit was announced for the 3rd of November but was postponed until the 5th and her play changed because of Mr. Harper's severe illness, and this fact caused the publication of an attack upon Mr. and Mrs. Harper for disappointing an audience and injuring a helpless woman by their caprice. Finally, a wail arose on the 13th of November from another actor because the managers would not allow him to be assisted at his benefit by a Mrs. Gardner, who was not a member of the company, and because he was likely to have no benefit at all, owing to the departure of the company to Philadelphia. He took his revenge by announcing that Mrs. Gardner was far superior to the actresses of the company, owing to her long training under Garrick and Foote. All of the actors, however, had benefits before leaving the city. The series began with "Mr. Wools' night," on the 21st of September, and ended on the 15th of December. Those of Mrs. Henry, Mr. and Mrs. Harper, Miss Tuke, and Mrs. Morris, were either pecuniarily satisfactory or they did not dare to ask for another. Messrs. Heard and Ryan had one together, as

did Messrs. Gay, Durang, and Lake. The other actors adopted a formula stating that their previous benefit had been disappointing to their friends, and that they had therefore decided, by their friends' advice, to relinquish the emoluments of that performance to the company and to request the renewed patronage of the public. Mr. Wools accordingly shared a second benefit with Mrs. Hamilton; Mrs. Williamson did likewise with Mr. Biddle; and Messrs. Hallam, Henry, and Morris each had two. The last mention of the Old American Company in the newspapers of 1789 was a card from "Humanitas" urging them to give a performance for the benefit of the poor, but his appeal was unheeded although in former years considerable sums had been raised for the poor in that way.

The Mrs. Gardner whose assistance had been declined by Hallam and Henry had made her first appearance on the stage on the 1st of October 1763 at the Drury Lane Theatre under the name of Miss Cheney. She had also appeared at the Covent Garden and Haymarket Theatres in London and is said to have acted excellently in several of Foote's plays. Her arrival in New York was announced by an advertisement on the 17th of November 1789 of an entertainment "rhetorical and oratorical," at the City Tavern for one night only, entitled Fashionable Raillery by Mrs. Gardner from the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, performed by her for forty-seven nights in Dublin and with equal success in Jamaica and Charleston. The performance was to include songs and to close with a whimsical afterpiece entitled The Mad Poetess. The refusal of the managers of the American Company to accept her assistance afforded her an opportunity to air her history in the newspaper. In a card published on the 19th of December 1789, announcing that an entertainment was to be given for her benefit, she stated that she had been enticed from Charleston by a gentleman who promised to give her charge of his child in the country and, (having apparently learned but little of the ways of the world during her twenty-six years experience on the stage), she had accepted his invitation only to be robbed and deserted by him. The members

of the American Company finally paid her debt for board and lodging, redeemed her clothes, and allowed her to use the theatre for one night. The performance for her benefit was to consist of "Wits Last Shift" and "Bucks have at ye all," and was to take place on the 29th of December but was postponed to the following evening owing to the inclemency of the weather, and seems to have received no further notice in the newspapers.

The minor public amusements of the year were not numerous. In January, Mr. Colles announced that so long as the sleighing lasted he would continue his electrical experiments and exhibition of curiosities at Halsey's celebrated tavern in Harlem; but no description was given of the curiosities. The next announcement of a show was in April, when Dr. King, lately from South America, arrived from Charleston with a collection of natural curiosities. This exhibition was opened at No. 28 Wall Street, opposite the Coffee House, and included "a Male and Female of the surprising species of the Ourang Outang or the Man of the Woods; the Sloth, which from its sluggish disposition will grow poor from travelling from one tree to another; the Baboon, of different species and of a most singular nature; Monkey, Porcupine, Ant-Bear, Crocodile, Lizard, and Sword Fish; Snakes of various kinds and very extraordinary; Tame Tyger and Buffalo; Also a variety of Birds of different sizes, colour, and species." These could be seen from 10 A.M. to 10 P.M. for the price of 5s. for adults and 2s. 6d. for children. A few weeks later a picture of the Wild Man of the Woods appeared in the Boston newspapers modestly clad in a girdle of fig-leaves. In November another natural curiosity was offered for sale in the shape of "A Moose Deer, of the male kind, lately brought from St. John's, N. B.; only 18 months old and fully 15 hands high and very tame." Of a different kind was the exhibition, in July, of a solar microscope at the house of Christopher Colles, No. 3 on the Lower Battery. This instrument was said to be justly reckoned one of the greatest improvements in the science of Optics, and magnified the skin of a spider's leg to 30 feet in length, as thick as a man's body and

covered with bristles surprisingly large. It magnified a common louse to the length of 12 feet, from which it was calculated that it increased the bulk 644,972,544 times. The price of admission was three shillings and those who had come once were admitted free upon their second visit provided that they brought others with them. On the 10th of June Mr. Joseph Decker published a broadside to the effect that in 1785 he had made a balloon ascension at Bristol and, after being in the air half an hour, had descended at a spot 23 miles from the place of ascent. He desired to favor the inhabitants of New York with a similar exhibition and solicited subscriptions of 8s. each toward the construction of a balloon to cost one hundred guineas, his own remuneration to be obtained from an exhibition of the balloon when completed. On the 7th of August he sent up from the Fort a balloon 24 feet in circumference which descended into the Harlem River nine miles from the place of ascent. This was followed on the 15th by one 30 feet in circumference, and, on the 12th of September, Mr. Decker announced that he had completed a large balloon 100 feet in circumference in which he himself would ascend on the 23d of September from the lot bounded by Eagle, Suffolk, and Cellar Streets, near the race ground. This balloon was placed upon exhibition at No. 14 William Street, the price of admission being 4s., but Mr. Decker was not destined to ascend in it. The Packet of December 24th states that two-thirds of the city assembled on the 23rd to see the great balloon ascend but that, according to Mr. Decker's statement, it caught fire on account of the pressure of the multitude who broke the fence by which it was surrounded. Others thought that the manager purposely set it on fire, this opinion finding expression in the following card, which appeared in the Journal: "Yesterday at 4 o'clock departed in a blaze the much Celebrated Balloon, constructed under the admired abilities of Mr. Decker, whose eccentric ingenuity was displayed in acquiring a brilliant sum; which perfectly accorded with his N. B. that he should leave the city after his descent—into the purses of the generous and disappointed spectators." The same Mr. Decker also exhibited at No. 14 William Street a

Speaking Figure suspended by a ribbon from the centre of a beautiful temple, which asked questions itself and answered with delicacy and propriety questions addressed to it either in a whisper or more audible tone. In the same room there were exhibited a variety of wax figures, a small paradox, and an alarm against house-breaking and fire, the show being open from six to ten P.M. and the price of admission 2s. for adults and 1s. for children. Mr. Decker died in Lisbon in the early part of 1790. A more extensive wax-work exhibition was given at No. 74 Water Street, opposite Crane's wharf, by a Mr. Bowen who came with a letter of recommendation signed by an ex-Governor, the Secretary of State, and other prominent citizens of North Carolina. In this exhibition were "The President of the United States sitting under a canopy in his military dress and over the head of his Excellency a fame suspended (also in wax) crowning him with a wreath of laurel; the King, Queen, and Prince of Wales of Great Britain, habited in cloaths which were presented by the King; The Rt. Reverend Samuel Provoost, Bishop of New York; The Rev. Dr. John Rodgers of New York; and the Rev. Dr. John Livingston of New York." There were also a number of edifying biblical scenes, and figures so constructed as to turn their heads, open and shut their eyes, and perform other feats "to the admiration of the spectators." This exhibition was open from 6 to 10 P.M. at 2s. 6d. for adults, and 1s. for children, and was probably a good show as it was honored, on the 17th of September, by a visit from the President, Gen. Knox, and other distinguished persons. Of out-door amusements there were not many during the year. There was a cricket club in the city, and on the 8th of August the newspapers announced that bets to a considerable amount would be settled by a few shots at a target that afternoon in a field near Mr. Campbell's on the Greenwich Road; in this match, Capt. McPherson of Philadelphia, a gentleman with but one arm, vanquished his competitor Capt. Stakes, who, at a range of 160 yards, failed to hit the barn-door on which the mark was placed. An event of greater interest was a boat-race for a purse of fifteen half-joes, on the 15th of August, be-

tween the New York pilot-boat York, commanded by Mr. M. Daniels, and the Virginia built schooner Union, Captain Merryman, belonging in Curaçoa. The race took place outside of the Hook in a light breeze, the York running 14 leagues in five hours and beating her rival by about seven minutes. Thirty vessels attended the race and nearly £2000 changed hands upon the result. But two horse-races were advertised during the year, the first of which was to take place on the 15th of September on Greenwich Lane, each horse to pay one dollar entrance fee and the winner to receive an elegant saddle. The second advertisement was that of the Jamaica races on the 29th and 30th of October. On the 29th there was to be a race for £20, open to all, best two out of three two-mile heats; 20s. entrance for each horse; three year olds to carry six stone seven, four year olds seven stone nine, five year olds eight stone twelve, and aged nine stone. On the 30th, the winner of a free-to-all race was to receive a saddle, bridle, and whip.

The public lectures of the season seem to have been limited to one delivered at Aaron Aorson's tavern on the 6th of October by "a man more than 30 years an Atheist." The subject of the lecture was "The Divinity of Jesus Christ" and its object was to assist two poor families and to establish a fund for the purchase of wood for the poor; tickets were to be obtained of all the Aldermen for a quarter of a dollar each.

Music seems to have been cultivated in the city to a considerable extent, as appears by the existence of The Musical Society, the officers of which were George Gilfert, director, Henry Will, treasurer, and Robert McGrath, secretary. This Society, which met at No. 29 John Street, gave a concert in March for the benefit of distressed debtors in jail, and on the 18th of June gave a second one in the Lutheran Church. Six other concerts were given between the 22nd of September and the 1st of December, three of them being subscription concerts under the management of Mr. Reinagle and Mr. Henry Capron, music teachers in the city. The programme of the first of these subscription concerts, which took place on

the 22nd of September, probably gives a fair example of the musical taste of that time. It was as follows:

ACT 1st.

Overture.	GIORDANI.
Song.	MRS. SEWELL.
Concerto, Violoncello.	MR. CAPRON.
Overture.	GUGLIELMI.

ACT 2nd.

Overture.	STAMITZ.
Song.	MRS. SEWELL.
Sonata, Piano Forte.	MR. REINAGLE.
Overture.	DITTERS.

After the first act a chorus was given, with the words that were sung as Washington passed the bridge at Trenton on the way to his inauguration, to music composed by Mr. Reinagle. In the other concerts of this series a Mr. Wolf played on the clarinet and there were given overtures composed by Vanhall, Ditters, J. Stamitz, and C. Stamitz, a piano and violin duet by Mozart, and a symphony by Goffec. After the music there was dancing. Mrs. Anna Maria Sewell, who had retired from the Old American Company in 1788 to keep a young ladies' school, also gave a concert on the 31st of October in which the same performers took part. The last concert of the season was given on the 1st of December by Mr. P. A. Van Hagen, formerly Director of the City Concert at Zutphen and then a music teacher at No. 23 Ferry Street, the other performers being Mr. Van Hagen, jr., eight years of age, and Mr. Frobel. This performance included a solo, never before performed, on iron nails called Violino Harmonika. The price of admission was one dollar and after the concert there was to be a ball. Mr. Van Hagen's violin playing had aroused great enthusiasm at a concert which he gave on the 10th of November and on the day of his last concert a correspondent of the Daily Gazette announced that he would undertake to prove, before any judge who had taste enough to take the matter into consideration, that he was the first master of music who had ever visited America.

The only free exhibition announced in the newspapers in 1789 failed to be seen. A transit of Mercury across the Sun was duly advertised for the 5th of November, with diagrams and full explanations, but owing either to a miscalculation in the time or the pooriness of their telescopes the inhabitants of New York saw nothing of this phenomenon.

VI.

EDUCATION. LITERATURE. ART. NEWSPAPERS.

IN the matter of educational facilities New York, even as late as 1789, was undoubtedly less advanced than New England, a fact which Brissot de Warville, who was a man of great literary ability, attributed to the Dutch indifference toward letters. Columbia College was graduating some brilliant young men, but, owing to a variety of causes they were few in number as compared with the graduates of Yale and Harvard, while the University of Pennsylvania bid fair to outstrip the New York institution. The college had been established in 1754 amid the clash of ecclesiastical arms, aroused by an alleged attempt to set up a Church of England institution for the support of which all denominations were to be taxed. In 1746 the raising of funds for the encouragement of education had been begun by a lottery, and in 1751 when the fund amounted to £3443 it was vested in ten trustees whose denominational affiliations at once raised a protest. The board included seven Episcopalians, two Reformed Dutch members, and one Presbyterian, William Livingston, afterwards Governor of New Jersey, who, in "The Independent Reflector," first published in November 1752, made a fierce attack upon the proposal to grant a charter to a college founded for the benefit of a denomination who were in the minority in the community. In May 1754 Trinity Church offered land for the college upon condition that the president should always be an Episcopalian and that the Prayer-Book should be used in it, and the trustees of the fund petitioned for a charter upon these terms. One party in the Dutch Church, including Dominies Ritzema and De Ronde, then favored this project, provided that the Dutch should have a

theological professorship in the institution; and the Dutch members of Assembly voted for the charter, which was granted by the Governor on the 31st of October 1754, no mention, however, being made in it of the Dutch professorship. Mr. Livingston then renewed his opposition in a series of papers entitled "The Watch Tower" which appeared in the N. Y. Mercury from October 25th 1754 until November 17th 1755, and succeeded in raising such opposition to the transfer of the fund by the original trustees to the college trustees that one half of it was finally given to the city for the building of a new jail. Another opponent of the college also appeared in the person of David Marinus, Dutch pastor at Aquenonka; Long Island, who was the author of a pamphlet entitled "A Remark on the Disputes and Contentions in This Province," printed in New York by Hugh Gainé in 1755. This writer declared that the surest way for any party to promote their domineering sway was to obtain control of the education of youth, and he expressed his amazement that the Dutch should have allowed themselves to be imposed upon in such a manner. He also paid his respects to one J. V. D. who had written against Mr. Livingston and his supporters in the N. Y. Mercury charging them with disturbing the peace and tranquillity of the colony. This individual was informed that he need have no fear that the Dutch would give any assistance either to the college in New Jersey, (which, however, was preferable to that in New York,) nor to that in New York, as they proposed to have an academy of their own, having found this to be necessary unless they wished to be annihilated by the other churches. Under the old plan of educating American ministers in Holland the Dutch Church had so declined that the grandeur of the High Church consisted in proselytes gained from it. He further writes: "Is our Friend really of Opinion, our Church is established here, or the Church of *England* either; why doth he then not prove it? * * * Oh! this mock Establishment is a Darling of theirs to enchant and delude the Ignorant and Unweary! The Net is already thrown out round about us; it hath already encircled us; if we remain but quietly and tamely where we are, no doubt, the

High Church Party will make the greatest Draught ; as our real and honest Friend *Phileleutheros* hath shown. But our *Ulyssean* Friend, it seems is not contented even with this ; we must like senseless and dumb Fishes, run into the net of our own Accord, to facilitate the Labour and Toil of our Fishermen, in drawing our own Ruin and Destruction upon us. We must, at the same Time, unite with the Members of the Church of *England*, in promoting their High Church College, in order to get our Youth so freely educated that they forever renounce their own Church, and when they get into the Assembly, make us pay for it and feel the Smart of it. Is this a Foundation to build a College upon ? Is this a Basis whereon to fix a Seminary of Learning, in a Free Land, designed for a Place of Refuge, for an Asylum to persecuted Souls, in which the incroaching Party is perhaps scarcely a twentieth man at present ? * * * Let us Men, and Brethren, put our Trust in God, and be unanimous among ourselves, and not hearken to domineering parties who endeavor to divide us ; we have no Business with their Colleges ; they may erect as many as they please, and must expect to maintain them too themselves." Mr. Marinus' final suggestion that the Dutch could not be despoiled without the concurrence of the Assembly and that they should therefore be particular with regard to their choice of representatives, was too late to be of value to them. A Dutch professorship of theology was added to the institution in June 1755, but in August of that year the Dutch Consistory censured Dominie Ritzema for having acted in the matter without authority, and the Dutch took no part in the college. Denominational disagreements thus attended the foundation of the college and were without doubt a great hinderance to its prosperity. The chief causes, however, of its weakness in 1789 were the fact of its having been closed during the Revolution, and the poverty which had followed the war. The college was revived by two Acts passed on the 1st of May and the 26th of November 1784 placing it under the control of the Regents of the State University who were created by those Acts, but, this arrangement proving detrimental to it, a new law was passed on the

13th of April 1787 by which its old charter was confirmed and its management was placed in the hands of twenty-nine trustees who were to hold office until their number was reduced to twenty-four, who were then to fill the vacancies themselves. These trustees held their first meeting on the 8th of May 1787, the income of the college at that time being about £1330. The first stone of the College Building was laid on the 23rd of July 1756, and in May 1760 it was first occupied. The building, which was situated on the blocks now bounded by College Place, Church, Murray, and Barclay Streets, in 1789 formed but one third of the proposed structure and had been considerably damaged during the Revolution by its use for military purposes. It was a three-story stone building with four entrances, having at its west end, on the first floor, a hall in front and a dining room in the rear, with but a slight partition between them. On the second floor, over the hall, was a library the books of which had disappeared during the war, and on the opposite side of the building was the apparatus chamber. The third floor contained a lecture room, over the library, and adjoining it was a room containing a telescope, microscope, globes, and other scientific instruments. In other parts of the building there were also a chapel, museum, anatomical theatre, and twenty-four suites of apartments consisting of a sitting-room, study, and bedchamber. One description states that there were but twelve such apartments. The middle of the structure was adorned with a cupola and one of the first lightning rods which had been put up in the city. In 1792 an addition to the building was begun and the College occupied the premises until its removal to 49th Street in 1857. The College Faculty in 1789 consisted of :

President and Professor of Rhetoric, Logic, and Belles-Lettres, HON.
WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON, LL.D.

Professor of Moral Philosophy, Geography, and the German Language,
REV. JOHN D. GROSS, D.D.

Professor of Mathematics, JOHN KEMP, LL.D.

Professor of Greek and Latin, PETER WILSON.

Professor of Oriental Languages, REV. JOHN C. KUNZE, D.D.

Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, CHARLES MCKNIGHT, M.D.

Professor of the Institutes of Medicine, BENJAMIN KISSAM, M.D.

Professor of the Practice of Physic, NICHOLAS ROMAINE, M.D.

Professor of Chemistry, SAMUEL BARD, M.D.

The medical department had been established in 1767, chiefly through the efforts of Dr. Samuel Bard. William Samuel Johnson, President of the College, was a son of its first president, and was born in Stratford, Conn., on the 6th of January 1727. After graduation from Yale College in 1744 he studied law and soon attained great eminence in jurisprudence. In 1761 he received the degree of A.M. from both Harvard and Columbia Colleges, and in 1766, when on a visit to England as colonial agent, he received that of J.C.D. from Oxford and was also elected Fellow of the Royal Society. He was Judge of the Superior Court of Connecticut, Member of Congress, a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, and in 1789 was U. S. Senator from Connecticut, an office which he resigned in 1791. He accepted the presidency of Columbia College in November 1787 and resigned that position on the 16th of July 1800, when he was 74 years of age. He died in 1819 in his 93rd year.

The requirements for admission to the college in 1789, were the ability to render into English Cæsar's Commentaries, the four orations of Cicero against Catiline, the first four books of Virgil's *Æneid*, and the Gospels from the Greek, and to explain the government and connection of the words; to be able to turn English into grammatical Latin; and to understand the first five rules of arithmetic. The college year was apparently divided into two sessions, one of which began on the 18th of June and the other on the 12th of November, the price of tuition being five dollars for each professor whose instruction was received. Examinations were held quarterly and at one on the 4th of February 1789 orations were delivered on Slavery, Education, Prejudice, Public Spirit, Government, and General Arnold, who was "made as black as the power of language could paint him." The oration on Prejudice was published in full in one of the newspapers. The College Commencement was held on the 6th of May 1789 in the pres-

ence of the President, Vice-President, and Senate of the United States, Governor Clinton, and other distinguished persons, the ceremony beginning with prayer by President Johnson, after which there were the following orations:

JAMES C. DUANE, Salutatory in Latin on the Study of Philosophy and Mathematics in Colleges.

MATTHEW MESIER, On the Passions.

PETER MESIER, On the Rising Glory of America.*

WILLIAM LUPTON, On the Advantages of the Discovery of Printing.

HENRY IZARD, On the Necessity of Eloquence for the Preservation of Liberty.

JOHN BAINBRIDGE, On Happiness.

JOHN P. VAN NESS, On the Progress and Causes of Civilization.

JOHN REMSEN, On Government,—its Progress from East to West.

WILLIAM HURST, On the Utility and Study of History.

JOHN M. MASON, Valedictory.

The degree of A.B. was conferred upon these graduates and that of M.A. upon Dewitt Clinton, Philip V. Livingston, Rev. John Basset, Rev. Peter Steddiford, Abraham Hun, Samuel W. Johnson, and R. Alden. The recipients of the degree of D.D. were the Rev. Messrs. Beach, Moore, Gross, and Lynn of New York, Jacobus R. Hardenburgh, and Jeremiah Leaming. The exercises then closed with a charge to the students by President Johnson.

The college was subjected to some bitter criticism in the newspapers in 1789, especially on account of the small number of its students as compared with other colleges, (Yale had 30 graduates in 1789 and Harvard 49) its lack of a sufficient number of instructors, and the fact that its president was a U. S. Senator to the supposed neglect of his college duties. The whole number of students was said to be between thirty and forty. The writer of these criticisms, however was evidently actuated by some personal grievance which does not fully appear. A more profound criticism was made by the Hon. Hugh Williamson, M.D., LL.D. of North Carolina, in a letter of September 14th 1789 addressed to President Johnson, in which he advised the teaching of natural philosophy and natural history rather than the confining of the course of

study to the classics. This wise advice, however, merely brought on a denominational war in the newspapers in which the "Presbyterian dislike of the classics" was roundly denounced.

In the number of its schools, the city was certainly not lacking, as the directory for 1789 contains the names of 55 school-teachers, and there were several others whose names do not appear in it. The oldest school in the city was the Charity School of the Dutch Church, mentioned elsewhere, and the others ranged from Columbia Grammar School down to that kept by "Sam Jones, old soldier and schoolmaster, No. 22 King George Street." Columbia Grammar School, which was probably the best school in the city, was established May 15th 1784 and was one of two grammar schools which it was proposed to have annexed to the University, each to have two teachers, and, when the pupils became sufficiently numerous, to add an assistant. In view of this superior instruction, the price of tuition was to be higher than in common schools. One of these schools was kept by Mr. Edward Rigg and Mr. McMillan, but the former died in the early part of September 1786 and the latter being called to the Kingston Academy, the school came to an end. The school-room was in the Old City Hall and the scholars were at one time so noisy as to disturb the deliberations of Congress which was assembled in an adjoining room. On the 26th of January 1784, Mr. William Cochran announced that he had opened a school at No. 23 Maiden Lane in which Latin, Greek, History, and Geography would be taught. In May of the same year this school became the Columbia College Grammar School and, in December, Mr. Cochran was elected Professor of Latin and Greek in the College itself, holding that position until his resignation in the early part of 1789 when he accepted a professorship in Nova Scotia. John Randolph of Roanoke, who was one of his pupils, writes: "Cochran left no one but Dr. Johnson, the president, of any capacity behind him." The first quarterly examination of the school was held on the 9th of August 1784, in the presence of the Regents of the University and clergy of the city

and prizes were awarded to Masters Cochran, Mason, and Woodward. On the 28th of October 1784, Mr. Cochran announced that he had procured an able assistant, Mr. George Wright from Trinity College, Dublin, and in December, the second quarterly examination was held and prizes awarded to James C. Duane, John M. Mason and others, of whom some were graduated from the College in 1789. In March 1785, it was announced that the terms of tuition in the school would be reduced to one guinea entrance fee and seven dollars a quarter, which seems to have been the price in 1789. Other good schools were that kept by James Hardie at No 9 Gold Street, from which thirteen scholars were admitted to Columbia College in June 1789; that of Malcolm Campbell at No. 85 Broadway, nearly opposite Trinity Church; and that at No. 19 Little Queen (Cedar) Street kept by Mr. Graham and Laurence Johnson, both of whom made their appearance in the city in 1784 and became partners in April 1787. Mr. Hardie was the author of a Latin Grammar, and Mr. Campbell, who had received the degree of M.A. from the University of Aberdeen, was the editor of some of the earliest editions of the classics published in New York. He died after a lingering illness, on the 11th of October 1821, at No. 31 Liberty Street, in the 63rd year of his age. All of these schools held public exhibitions which were not always satisfactory to their visitors, for in June 1789 complaint was made that the pieces spoken at a recent exhibition were animated by party spirit. The principal young ladies' schools were that of Mrs. Sewall, opened in June 1788 at No. 89 William Street and removed in May 1789 to No. 5 Crown (Liberty) Street; that of Mrs. Carter, "late of London and Philadelphia," opened in January 1789 at No. 76 Broadway, opposite the City Tavern; and that proposed to be opened in September 1789 by Mrs. Graham, who in the following year occupied the house No. 1 Broadway. The instruction in these schools was given in reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, grammar, geography, deportment, plain sewing, embroidery, cloth-work, filigree work, japanning, drawing, painting, music, dancing and French. The charges were about £80 a year, including wash-

ing, for boarders, £50 for half-boarders, and six dollars a quarter for day scholars. The leading French teacher in the city was Monsieur Alexander McDonald who announced his arrival from South Carolina in August 1789 and advertised in French for scholars to study English under him. He obtained a position in Graham and Johnson's school but apparently did not remain long in this city, as he died in Albany in November 1793. Another French teacher was M^r. Chevalier who came to New York in August 1784 by the advice of Americans whom he had taught at Nantes during the Revolution. He also taught Latin after the method of the French Academy, having had long experience in Paris, and in June 1789 offered gold watches, snuff-boxes, and buckles for sale at No. 49 Fair (Fulton) Street. John H. Hentz, who had taught in the city and on Long Island for eleven years, also announced in 1789 that he would open a French school when he had obtained twenty pupils. In 1784 he charged a half a guinea a month for instruction given from five to seven o'clock in the afternoon. M. Villette also gave instruction in French and fencing, in Cortlandt Street, the second door from Greenwich Street. Music was taught by Henry Capron who appeared in the city in November 1784, at No. 24 Gold Street, and by Mr. Reinagle, a member of the Society of Musicians of London, who came to New York in 1786 and in after years became the musical director of the Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia. John Rudberg also taught the guitar, violin, and clarinet at No. 4 Great Dock (Pearl) Street; and in December 1789 Mr. P. A. Van Hagen, "organist, carillonneur, and late director of the City Concert at Zutphen," announced that he would give lessons on the violin, harpsichord, tenor, violoncello, German flute, hautboy, clarinet, and bassoon, as well as in singing, at the rate of twelve lessons for six dollars and twenty shillings entrance fee. Mr. Van Hagen, who had been a member of the patriotic party in recent troubles in Holland, arrived in New York in October 1789 by the ship *Jenny* from Amsterdam, being drawn to America by affection for republicanism and probably also by the desire for his departure in Holland. His first advertisement in October de-

scribes him as an "organist, klokkenist, and componist," and he was warmly welcomed by the lovers of music in the city. His companion Mr. Frobél also taught music and tuned pianos for five shillings each. Another music teacher was George Gilfert who resided at No. 64 Nassau Street, and the most curious musical character in the city was William Hofmeister, known as Little Billy the Fiddler, a dwarf about four feet six inches high, who in August 1784 announced that, being incapable of other employment, he would teach music of almost any kind, having taken a room at No. 101 Broadway, corner of Fair (Fulton) Street. Clad in a large cocked hat and a huge pair of boots, he is said to have presented a most ludicrous appearance; but his services were engaged for many parties, and as he claimed to have been a friend of Mozart and to have composed one of his sonatas, he was evidently quite a musician. Musical instruments were manufactured by Thomas Dodd, No. 66 Queen (Pearl) Street, whose advertisement states: "The pianoe-forte is become the most fashionable instrument, and is introduced into almost every polite family in England, and is esteemed a complete accompaniment to the female voice; it takes up but little room, and may be moved with ease, and consequently kept in tune with little attention and on that account is superior to the harpsichord." Mr. Dodd manufactured and sold these instruments twenty-five per cent. cheaper than they could be imported, and in October 1789, when the style of his firm was Dodd and Clause, he announced that he had discovered improvements which rendered his pianos superior in elegance and sweetness of tone to any yet made. Pianos imported from London were sold by J. Jacob Astor at No. 81 Queen Street. On the 2nd of October 1789 Thomas Vaill advertised that he would open a singing-school at No. 83 Queen (Pearl) Street in the house next above the Friends' Meeting House, and there were doubtless other schools of that kind in the city.

Dancing-schools were kept by John H. Hulett, Andrew Picken, and J. Robardet. Mr. Hulett's father, William C. Hulett, had been a dancing-master who came to New York from London about the year 1754 and died in 1785, when the

son continued the school which in 1789 was at No. 15 Little Queen (Cedar) Street. He died about the year 1811, and was succeeded by David D. Hulett. Mr. Picken's first advertisement appeared in October 1785 stating that "Mr. Picken, lately from Britain, has opened a dancing-school at No. 1 Smith Street corner of Duke." In 1789, his school was kept in the City Assembly Room on the east side of Broadway, a little above Wall Street, where he gave frequent public exhibitions at which his scholars showed their skill from half past five until eight o'clock, when the dancing became general, gentlemen's tickets costing six shillings and, with a lady, eight shillings. Mr. Picken died in 1796. Mr. Robardet, who came from Albany, opened his school at Fraunces' Tavern in Cortlandt Street in September 1789.

Among the schools out of the city which were advertised in the papers were academies at Orange Dale, English Neighborhood, and Hackensack, N. J., and on the 3rd of July it was announced that Timothy Dwight would receive six young gentlemen and as many young ladies into his family and school at Greenfield, Connecticut.

Of New York literary men in 1789, with the exception of political writers, there were practically none. Philip Freneau, who was then captain of a merchant vessel, had acquired a reputation as a satirical versifier, and one of his poems entitled "The Pilot of Hatteras" appeared in the Daily Advertiser of November 14th, and perhaps throws some light on the habits of the sailors at that time. After describing the grief and fear of the pilot's sweetheart at his departure, the poet writes:

"Till eastern gales once more awake,
No danger shall be near;
On yonder shoals the billows break,
But leave us quiet here—
With gills of rum and pints of gin,
Again your lad shall land,
And drink—till he and all his kin
Can neither sit nor stand."

The Miscellaneous Works of Philip Freneau were published by Robert Hodge in January 1789.

Samuel Low, born December 12th 1765, and in 1789 a clerk in the Bank of New York, also wrote verses, of which a volume was published in 1800. He was also the author of a play in five acts, which was rejected by the managers of the theatre in 1788 but was published by Samuel Loudon in August 1789 under the title "The Politician Outwitted." William Dunlap's two plays, entitled "The Father" and "Darby's Return," apparently complete the list of works written by New Yorkers in 1789.

Two literary societies existed, the oldest of which was the Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge, whose officers were John Sloss Hobart, president; Rev. Dr. John Rodgers and Dr. Samuel Bard, vice-presidents; Daniel M'Cormick, treasurer; Daniel C. Verplanck and Josiah O. Hoffman, secretaries; and Dr. James Tillery, librarian. The other society was the Uranian Society, composed of young men and students, including John M. Mason, Jonas Platt, Thomas Cooper, Peter Mesier, George Graham, John P. Van Ness, James Cochran, Thomas Morris and nine others. In November 1789, Mr. Van Ness, who had been librarian of the society, was charged with wilfully retaining several of the books, his room and trunk were broken into by other members of the society in search of the books, and columns in the newspapers were filled with the abuse which he and his opponents heaped upon each other.

The sole representative of the city as a practical man of science was Christopher Colles, who was born in Ireland about the year 1738 and died in New York on the 4th of October 1816. He is said to have left Ireland in 1765, and in 1772 was delivering scientific lectures in Philadelphia. In 1773 he lectured in New York on inland lock-navigation and in the following year agitated the subject of water-works in the city, his work in that matter being interrupted by the Revolution. From 1775 to 1777 he gave instruction in gunnery to the artilleryists of the American army, and after the war barely supported himself by his skill as a chemist and his mechanical genius. On the 4th of August 1789 he petitioned Congress for exclusive privileges in an invention for counting with the

utmost precision the number of revolutions or vibrations of any wheel or other part of mechanical engines or machines, and in the same year he published a road-book of routes leading from New York in various directions. In the following year he also presented a memorial to Congress praying that he might be employed to make a survey of the roads in the United States. From a report on this memorial made by the Postmaster General in April 1790, it would appear that Mr. Colles' philosophical knowledge, which was undoubtedly great, had not been pecuniarily remunerative to him; the report states that "the ability of the memorialist to execute the work within a reasonable time is evident from what he has already executed; and as it is the principal, if not the only, dependence he has for the support of himself and his family, there is no doubt that he will be as industrious as his slender means will admit." As the amount for which Mr. Colles asked was but an eighth of a dollar per mile for about 3000 miles, or \$375 in all, the report advised that the petition be granted, but the project does not seem to have been carried out. To him is attributed the first attempt to build a steam engine in this country, the idea of joining Lake Ontario with the Hudson River by a canal, and the first formal proposition to establish a system of telegraphic communication along the whole Atlantic coast by means of semaphores. Late in life, through the efforts of John Pintard, he was appointed Superintendent of the American Academy of Fine Arts.

Some idea of the remuneration which authors received in 1789, may be gained from an agreement between Noah Webster and Samuel Campbell of New York by which the latter, for the consideration of £80 New York currency, or \$200, was empowered to print and sell for five years from May 1788 the first part of Webster's Grammatical Institutes of the English Language or American Spelling Book, in New York, New Jersey, North and South Carolina and Georgia. He was also to be allowed to print and sell the other parts, when completed, for the same consideration as might be offered to the author by others, and at a price not less than that charged by William Young of Philadelphia.

The principal publishers and booksellers in the city in 1789 were :

THOMAS ALLEN, No. 16 Queen (Pearl) Street, corner of the Fly Market.

BERRY AND ROGERS, No. 35 Hanover Square.

SAMUEL CAMPBELL, No. 44 Hanover Square, corner of Old Slip.

WILLIAM DURRELL, No. 198 Queen Street.

HUGH GAINE, Sign of the Bible, Hanover Square.

HARRISON AND PURDY, No. 3 Peck Slip.

ROBERT HODGE, No. 37 King (Pine) Street, corner of Queen (Pearl).

SAMUEL LOUDON, No. 5 Water Street.

ROBERT M'GILL, No. 212 Water Street.

WILLIAM MORTON, No. 231 Queen (Pearl) Street.

JOHN REID, No. 17 Water Street.

JAMES RIVINGTON, No. 1 Queen Street.

The books read in 1789 may be judged of by a few taken at random from the advertisements of the booksellers. Thus, Samuel Campbell advertised among other books, American editions of Nicholson's Introduction to Natural Philosophy; Paley's Moral Philosophy; Percival's Father's Instructions; Emma Corbett or the Miseries of Civil War; Advice from a Lady of Quality to her children, in the last stage of a lingering illness; The Night Cap, by Mercier; The Beauties of Dr. Johnson; and Falconer's Shipwreck. He also sold a Life of Baron Trenck, with an elegant frontispiece representing the baron in a dungeon, loaded with 88 pounds of iron; an edition of The Lounger, in two volumes, for 12s., which was a little more than half the London price; and the 12th edition of Webster's Spelling Book. In 1786 Mr. Campbell had published a sale catalogue containing the titles of about 5000 volumes. On the 4th of February 1789, Robert Hodge announced the publication of "The First American Novel" entitled "The Power of Sympathy, or the Triumph of Nature." This entertaining work was said to be founded on truth, and written in consequence of a remarkable suicide; it was published in two duodecimo volumes and was dedicated to the young ladies of America. The suicide referred to was that of a young lady in Boston in the summer of 1788, which was fully described in the newspapers and is mentioned in Brissot de

Warville's book. In December 1789, Mr. Hodge also offered for sale, at the price of two shillings, a pamphlet entitled "The Resurrection of Laurent Ricci," a true and exact History of the Jesuits, by "A Friend of Good Government." This was dedicated to the Rev. Father John Carrol, Superior of the Jesuits in the United States. In March 1789, Thomas Allen offered for sale the first volume of the new *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and in May, he announced the publication of Mr. Jerningham's *Poems* at the price of 2s. 3d. Samuel Loudon sold "The Conflagration," a poem upon the Last Day by the Rev. Benjamin Francis, for 1s. 6d., and announced that "the elegancy of the stile, the seriousness of the subject, and the object of the performance, must be an inducement to expedite the sale of such a valuable publication." Between January and April 1789, he also sold two editions of Bartholomew Burgess' *Short account of the Solar System*. In June 1789, Hugh Gaine published and sold Jedidiah Morse's *American Geography* for 14s. to the public and for a French crown in sheets by the quantity to booksellers. William Morton published "The Cow Chace" by Major André, and Harrison and Purdy issued "The Young Mason's Monitor and Vocal Companion" by William M. Stewart, an American book containing necessary hints for the young brethren and a collection of masonic songs. The book, however, which created the greatest interest in 1789 both in New York and other cities was Dr. Gordon's "History of the Rise, Progress and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America." This book was first published in London in 1788 but in February 1789 Hodge, Allen, and Campbell published a proposal for subscriptions for an American edition to be issued in three octavo volumes for thirty shillings. The reception which the book met with in some quarters appears in an article copied in the New York newspapers from a Boston source, a portion of which reads as follows: "Much has been said and much still remains to be said concerning the inconsistency, the partiality, the notorious reflections, the mistakes, the redundancies, the manifest errors in grammar, the absurd conclusions, the odd conjectures, and the repeti-

tions which appear in almost every page of Dr. Gordon's *History of the American Revolution*." The New York publishers, however, were equal to the occasion, published a long advertisement lauding the book to the skies, and doubtless made money through the interest aroused by the criticism of it.

The longest-established bookseller in the city in 1789 was Hugh Gainé, an Irishman from Belfast, who came to New York about the year 1745, and about 1750^o set up a press purchased with his savings as an apprentice at nine shillings currency a week. In August 1752 he established a newspaper called the *New York Mercury*, afterwards called the *Gazette and Mercury*, of which he continued the publication until 1783, remaining in the city during the Revolution. He died April 25th 1807, aged 81 years. His son, John R. Gainé, who was associated in business with him, died in May 1787. James Rivington, was a son of Charles Rivington who in 1711 founded the publishing house of that name in London. He settled as a bookseller in Philadelphia in 1760 and came to New York in the following year. In 1773 he began the publication of a newspaper called the *New York Gazetteer*, which became obnoxious, and his press was destroyed by Liberty Boys in 1775; but in 1777 he resumed the publication of it under the title of the *Royal Gazette* and remained in New York during the Revolution, expressing the strongest tory sentiments, but, it is said, giving secret information to Washington. In 1783 he discontinued the publication of his newspaper and became a bookseller and tobacconist. His tobacco advertisement in August 1789 reads: "The Gentleman's Twist is a constant Vade mecum and hilarious Associate of the *Cognoscenti* and other Amateurs of our All-cheering, delicious Morceau." He died in July 1802, aged 78 years. His portrait is in the Gallery of the N. Y. Historical Society.

Robert Hodge came to America from Edinburgh in 1770 and opened a printing office in New York in 1773. He removed from the city during the Revolution, but returned after the war, and published a number of books jointly with Allen and Campbell. He died in Brooklyn in August 1813, at the age of 67 years, having been retired from business for a

number of years. Samuel Campbeil was also a Scotchman who began to sell books in New York about the year 1785 and died in the city on the 26th of June 1836, aged 73 years. Thomas Allen also made his appearance about the year 1786 and continued in business until 1799. Robert MacGill first appeared in Philadelphia in 1771 and removed to New York in 1778 where he continued in business until 1811, when he removed to Newburg. His wife died on the 14th of June 1789 aged 26 years. On the 4th of November 1789, was "married by the Rev. Benjamin Foster, Mr. William Durrell, Printer and Bookseller, to Miss Maria Schenk, daughter of Mr. Abraham Schenk, a young lady possessed of the most amiable qualities, both natural and acquired." Mr. Durrell was still in the printing business in 1823. John Reid appeared as a bookseller soon after the Revolution, and died August 19th 1828 aged 64 years.

In 1784, Samuel Loudon advertised a circulating library of about 2000 volumes, which did not thrive although revived in April 1787; but whether this was in existence in 1789 does not appear. The books of the New York Society Library, founded in 1754 and chartered November 9th 1772, had been stolen and dispersed during the British occupation of the city in spite of repeated warning proclamations on the subject by the British commanders. It is not probable that many of them had been recovered in 1789, but the members of the Society met on the 21st of December 1788, for the first time since 1774, to revive the library, and resolved that new members should be admitted upon the payment of £5, which had been the sum paid by the original subscribers, and that books to that value should be received in lieu of money. Their charter was confirmed by an Act passed February 18th 1789 which appointed as trustees of the Library:

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

HENRY REMSEN.

ROBERT WATTS.

BROCKHOLST LIVINGSTON.

SAMUEL JONES.

PETER KETTELTA.

WALTER RUTHERFORD.

MATTHEW CLARKSON.

SAMUEL BARD.

HUGH GAINE.

DANIEL C. VER PLANCK.

EDWARD GRESWOLD.

In January 1789, the Common Council gave the Society Library permission to occupy the uppermost room in the southeast part of Federal Hall provided that it were not needed by the General Government, and the library was accordingly opened in the "Library Room of the City Hall" on the 1st of June 1789, one of the chief objects in reviving it being the retention of the General Government in the city. Access could be had to the books on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday from twelve until two o'clock. The librarian in 1789 was the Rev. Mr. Wright, minister of Brooklyn, who resided at No. 13 Dey Street. In the summer of 1790 this Library had 250 subscribers and contained 3000 volumes.

American art, both in New York and elsewhere, was in its earliest infancy, and was confined almost entirely to portrait painting. The drawing and painting schools in the city were two in number, that of James Cox, from Albany, at No. 52 Beekman Street, and that of Ignatius Shnydore at No. 28 John Street. Mr. Cox gave lessons for five dollars a quarter in the painting of coats-of-arms, and of silk, satin and muslin gowns and flounces. Mr. Shnydore gave instruction in the painting of landscapes, figures, and flowers, both in oil and in water color, and also did coach and sign painting, frescoing and gilding.

The best artist in the city was John Ramage, an Irishman, who came from Boston to New York in 1777 and was considered to be the best miniature painter of his time. He also made life-size portraits in crayon and pastel, but apparently did no large work in oil color. In 1789 he resided at No. 25 William Street, and on the morning of October 3rd in that year he had a two hours sitting from Washington for a miniature portrait to be made for Mrs. Washington. Of greater subsequent renown was William Dunlap who was born in Perth Amboy, N. J., February 19th 1766. Coming to New York with his parents in 1777 he early developed a taste for art and in 1782 began to paint portraits for three guineas each, including one of Washington in 1783. In the following year, he went to England and, after instruction from Benjamin West, returned to New York in 1787 to occupy himself

chiefly in writing plays and in theatrical affairs, becoming manager of the Park Theatre from 1798 to 1805. In 1816 he resumed painting, his chief pictures "Christ Rejected," eighteen feet by twelve in size, and "Calvary," eighteen feet by fourteen, appearing respectively in 1821 and 1828. His books on the History of the American Theatres, the History of the Arts of Design in the United States, and the History of New York, appeared in 1833, 1834, and 1840; and in 1826 he was one of the founders of the National Academy of Design. In the N. Y. Packet of Tuesday, February 17th 1789, there appeared the notice: "On Tuesday last was married by the Rev. Mr. Moore, Mr. William Dunlap, an eminent portrait painter and Member of the Philological Society, only son of Mr. Samuel Dunlap, merchant of Queen Street, to the amiable and accomplished Miss Nabby Woolsey of Fairfield, Conn." Mr. Dunlap died in New York on the 28th of September 1839. Edward Savage, who was born in Princeton, Mass., in 1761, was also in New York in 1789 and painted a portrait of Washington which is still preserved in Harvard University. In his diary on November 21st 1789, Washington writes: "Sat from ten to one o'clock for a Mr. Savage, to draw my portrait for the University of Cambridge, in the State of Massachusetts, at the request of the President and Governors of the said University." He also gave him sittings on November 28th and December 6th 1789, and on the 6th of January 1790. Mr. Savage also painted a well known picture of the Washington Family and issued an engraving of it done by Edwin and John Wesley Jarvis. He died in Princeton, Mass., in 1817. The only other professional artist in New York in 1789 was Joseph Wright, who was born in Bordentown, N. J., July 16th 1756. He was a son of Mrs. Patience Wright, who was born in New Jersey in 1725 and attained a high reputation as a modeller of wax figures both in America and in London, whither she went with her children about the year 1772. He received assistance in England from Benjamin West and painted a portrait of the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV. before his departure to France, where he was placed under the care of Benjamin Franklin in 1782. In the latter part of

that year he returned to America and in October 1783, painted portraits of General and Mrs. Washington at Rocky Hill, near Princeton, New Jersey. This portrait of Washington was to be sent abroad to form a part of the military collection of Count de Solms, a petty German potentate, but it is at present, with that of Mrs. Washington, owned in New York City. Mr. Wright also made a plaster cast of Washington's features, which was to be sent to Europe as a model for a bust, but broke it and was refused a second trial by Washington. He came to New York in April 1786, residing in 1790 at No. 8 Little Queen (Cedar) Street, but removed to Philadelphia about 1791 and died there of yellow fever in 1793. He may have been the person who in May 1790 advertised that the artist who had had the honor of taking the President's likeness and executing it as a medal, would take most correct and expressive likenesses in four minutes, and finish them as miniatures in hair. An amateur artist of considerable skill was the Marchioness de Brienne, sister of the French ambassador, who resided with her brother on Broadway. Both the ambassador and his sister were exceedingly unpopular for some time after their arrival in America in 1787, but in May 1789, Mr. Madison wrote to Mr. Jefferson: "It is with much pleasure I inform you that Moustier begins to make himself acceptable, and with still more that Madame Brehan begins to be viewed in the light which I hope she merits, and which was so little the case when I wrote by Master Morris." Madame de Brienne was the author of beautiful illuminated designs placed in front of the ambassador's house on the night of Washington's inauguration, and on the 3rd of October 1789, Washington states that he "sat about two o'clock for Madam de Brehan, to complete a miniature profile of me, which she had begun from memory, and which she had made exceedingly like the original." She was also the painter of a miniature on copper containing the profiles of Washington and Lafayette.

The newspapers published in the city in 1789 were five in number, viz.:

The New York Packet, published after May 1789, on

Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, by Samuel Loudon, at No. 5 Water Street. Price of three papers 32 shillings, of two papers 24 shillings, and of one paper 16 shillings a year.

The New York Journal, published on Thursday by Thomas Greenleaf at No. 25 Water Street. Price two dollars a year.

The Daily Advertiser, published by Francis Childs at No. 190 Water Street, corner of King (Pine) Street. Price six dollars a year.

The Daily Gazette, published by J. and A. McLean at No. 41 Hanover Square, at the Sign of Franklin's Head.

The Gazette of the United States, published on Wednesday and Saturday by John Fenno at No. 9 Maiden Lane. Price three dollars a year.

Samuel Loudon, the editor of the Packet, was an Irishman who came to New York some years before the Revolution and first entered into business as a shipchandler, but in 1775, set up a printing office and in January 1776, established the New York Packet. Being a strong Whig he removed his press to Fishkill, before the British occupation of New York, and continued the publication of his paper there until the British left New York, when he returned to the city and on the 15th of January 1784 was recommended to the public by the Whig mechanics of the city as worthy of patronage because of his strong attachment to the cause of liberty. He was for many years an elder in the Wall Street Presbyterian Church and continued to edit the Packet until January 26th 1792 when the paper was discontinued. He died at Middletown Point, N. J., on the 24th of February 1813, aged 86 years.

Thomas Greenleaf, the editor of the Journal, was born in Abington, Mass., and was the son of a printer. Prior to 1787 he was editor of the Boston Independent Chronicle, but in that year purchased the New York Journal, founded by John Holt in 1767. He was a sachem of the Tammany Society, and State printer, and continued to edit the Journal until his death of yellow fever on the 14th of September 1798 at the age of forty-two years.

Francis Childs, editor of the Advertiser, established that

paper March 1st 1785 and continued to edit it until 1795. In July 1789 he took John Swaine as a partner in the printing business. Mr. Childs was born in Philadelphia, October 23rd 1763, and after the death of his father was kindly cared for by John Jay. He learned the printing trade under Mr. Dunlap in Philadelphia and was sent under Government auspices to Charlottesville, Va., whence he escaped when the town was surprised by the British under Col. Tarleton. After the Revolution he settled in New York and founded the *Advertiser*, which was the first daily newspaper published in the city and the second in the United States, the *Pennsylvania Packet* and *Daily Advertiser* having become a daily paper in Philadelphia on the 21st of September 1784. On the 17th of February 1797 Mr. Childs, who was then residing in Europe, was appointed U. S. Consul at Genoa, but declined that office, although he afterwards acted as a government agent in France and Germany. He died in Burlington, Vermont, in October 1830.

The *Daily Gazette* was established by John and Archibald M'Lean in December 1788 and was published under the name of both of them until August 5th 1789 when it was continued by Archibald M'Lean alone, John M'Lean having died in Norfolk, Va., on the 18th of May, aged 32 years. In January 1789 it began the publication in its columns of the *Life of Baron Trenck* as a serial story, and on the 12th of August 1789 John Quirk, its carrier, fell down in a fit and immediately expired. Mr. M'Lean published the paper alone until January 3rd 1797 when he entered into a partnership with John Lang which ended with Mr. M'Lean's death of yellow fever on the 22nd of September 1798. The paper was continued under both of their names, however, until March 1799, when Mr. Lang became sole publisher.

John Fenno, editor of the *Gazette of the United States*, was the son of a Boston innkeeper, and being a good penman, was first employed as usher in a Boston writing-school, from which occupation he entered into the importing trade, and failed. When the United States Government began its work in New York in 1789, he conceived the idea of establishing a

newspaper devoted to news of the General Government, somewhat of the nature of a Court Gazette, and published the first number of it on the 15th of April 1789. He was of a poetical and imaginative temperament, and flattered the fashionable members of New York society to the best of his ability, calling down upon himself the ridicule of Philadelphia newspapers because of the number of French words which he introduced in his compositions. On the 14th of October 1789 he announced that his paper had about 650 subscribers, a number insufficient to furnish him with a competent support. He transferred the Gazette to Philadelphia upon the removal of Congress to that city, and died there of yellow fever on the 14th of September 1798, aged 47 years. All of the newspapers in 1789 consisted chiefly of advertisements and notices of auction sales, to which were added extracts from European newspapers, short clippings from papers in other states, and a few items of city news or a long disquisition upon some religious or political topic. After the opening of Congress its debates were published at length but in a manner not acceptable to the members, as, on the 21st of September 1789 a motion was made in the House directed against Francis Childs, John Fenno, and Thomas Lloyd, the editor of the Congressional Register, complaining that they made gross misrepresentations in their reports of the debates. They plead, however, that their errors were unintentional and the motion for excluding them was withdrawn. There were also a few broad jokes and anecdotes scattered through their pages, and a poem or two with such titles as "On a young lady of great merit who died in obscurity" or "An occasional Reflection on the vanities of Life, and the absence of Friendship." Editorial remarks were few in number but at times vigorous in expression. The editors were expected to be non-partisan in politics and to admit in their papers arguments from both sides, but in May 1789, Mr. Childs of the Advertiser became indignant at the articles by one "William Tell" who had been supporting Governor Clinton against the attacks of one "H. G.," and declined to print more of them. "William Tell" then published his articles in the Packet, and hints were made that Mr. Childs'

motives in excluding them were not of the purest sort, whereupon the latter thus politely dismissed the whole subject in his paper of May 23rd: "The Printer looks down with contempt on the person of W. Tell, his political productions and the impotent struggles of his malicious heart. His paper shall no more be open to the *artificial* passions of a scribbler, equal destitute of decency and of *interest* in the politics of *this* state or the welfare of *this* country." Mr. Loudon's paper was the favorite field for the bitter denominational and religious controversies which were raised upon every possible occasion, and evidently excited the disgust of a portion of the community, as, in December 1789, after "Eusebius" and "Juvenis" had been wrangling over the President's Thanksgiving Proclamation, another correspondent complained that the paper was filled with religious disputes although Mr. Loudon had been warned by his friends against the insertion of such articles.

In October 1789 the number of papers issued in the United States was estimated at 76,438 weekly, or 3,974,776 annually, which at four cents each, were valued at about \$158,991. Quills could be purchased at the factory of Francis Turner, No. 93 Queen (Pearl) Street, corner of Rutgers (Oak) Street, for from four to fifteen shillings a hundred, and paper could be obtained of Berry and Rogers or of James Rivington. Ink was manufactured by Joyce and Snowden who advertised it as of English make until May 1790 when they first ventured to proclaim it an American article.

In 1789 there was no magazine published in New York. In 1788 Noah Webster published the American Magazine in the city but it soon died from lack of subscribers.

The State printing was eagerly sought for in 1789 by several of the printers, the laws of that year being printed by Samuel Loudon. On the 8th of January the Assembly resolved to appoint Thomas Greenleaf state-printer after that session and to pay him 30s. a sheet for 300 copies of the laws and journals, and the further sum of ten pounds for State business, the laws to be printed within two months after the adjournment of the legislature. The Senate did not concur

in this and substituted the name of Francis Childs for that of Mr. Greenleaf and after some controversy Mr. Childs received the appointment. In May, Archibald M'Lean, John Fenno, Francis Childs, Thomas Greenleaf and Samuel Loudon all presented petitions to Congress to be allowed to do the United States printing, and Thomas Allen and John Bryce of No. 30 Smith Street petitioned to furnish Congress with stationery. The first number of the Congressional Register was printed by Harrison and Purdy for Mr. Lloyd, the editor, and the subsequent parts were printed by Mr. Loudon. The laws of the United States were printed by Francis Childs under authority of Congress and sold by him at the price of one dollar for each one hundred pages. Among the printers who died in the city in 1789 was George Carroll; on the 30th of November, who with John Patterson continued the Morning Post for a short time after the retirement of Shepard Kollock from its editorship on the 15th of December 1786.

VII.

GEORGE WASHINGTON AND JOHN^{*} ADAMS.

WHEN the electoral votes for President and Vice-President had been counted in Congress on the 6th of April 1789, Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, and Sylvanus Bourne, were at once appointed by the Senate to convey the official certificates of election to the successful candidates at Mount Vernon and Braintree respectively. Mr. Sylvanus Bourne was a private citizen of Roxbury, Mass., and was probably appointed as messenger to Mr. Adams because he was about to depart homeward and expense could be saved by entrusting the certificate to his care. He was rewarded by receiving an appointment as consul to the Island of Hispaniola on the 4th of June 1790, and on the 28th of May 1794 he was appointed vice-consul at Amsterdam, being promoted to be consul-general in the Batavian Republic on the 23rd of June 1797 and apparently holding that office until his death in Amsterdam in the early part of the year 1817. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1779. Mr. Thomson was authorized to apply to the Board of Treasury for such funds as might be necessary for his journey, but Mr. Bourne was limited to one-hundred dollars toward defraying his expenses. Both messengers started on their mission on the 7th of April.

Congress then turned its attention to the subject of receiving the President and Vice-President upon their arrival in New York, the first step in that direction being taken on the 9th of April when the Senate appointed John Langdon, William Samuel Johnson, and William Few, a committee to arrange for the reception of the President. On the 13th of April the same committee was empowered to include the reception of the Vice-President in its consideration, and a

committee of the House consisting of Egbert Benson, Peter Muhlenberg, and Samuel Griffin, was appointed to act in concert with that of the Senate. The result of their conference was a report which was adopted by both branches of Congress on the 15th of April to the effect that Mr. Osgood, the proprietor of the house lately occupied by the President of Congress, be requested to put it and its furniture in condition for the residence and use of the President of the United States, at the expense of the government; and that three members of the Senate and five members of the House be appointed to attend the President from New Jersey and to conduct him without form to that residence. It was also resolved that two members of the Senate and three members of the House should receive and congratulate the Vice-President upon his arrival in the city. In accordance with these resolutions, on the 16th of April, the Senate appointed John Langdon of New Hampshire, Charles Carroll of Maryland, and William Samuel Johnson of Connecticut, to wait upon the President; and Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, and Tristram Dalton of Massachusetts, to wait upon the Vice-President. The House appointed Elias Boudinot of New Jersey, Theodoric Bland of Virginia, Thomas T. Tucker of South Carolina, and Egbert Benson and John Lawrence of New York to receive the President, while the Vice-President was to be congratulated upon his arrival by Nicholas Gilman of New Hampshire, Fisher Ames of Massachusetts, and George Gale of Maryland.

Mr. Sylvanus Bourne left New York by boat for Boston at six o'clock in the morning of April 7th, arrived in Boston about six o'clock in the evening of April 9th and the same night delivered to John Adams the certificate of his election and the following note from the temporary President of the Senate :

“ SIR : I have the honor to transmit to you the information of your being elected to the office of Vice-President of the United States of America. Permit me, Sir, to hope that you will soon safely arrive here, to take upon you the dis-

charge of the important duties to which you are so honorably called by the voice of your country.

I am, Sir, with sentiments of respect,
Your obedient, humble servant,
JOHN LANGDON.

Mr. Adams left his home in Braintree, Mass., at ten o'clock in the morning of April 13th and arrived at the State line between New York and Connecticut on the morning of April 20th, being conducted thence to Kingsbridge by the Light Horse of Westchester County under command of Major Pintard. At Kingsbridge he was met by General Malcolm and the officers of his brigade, the City Troop of Light Horse under command of Captain Stakes, who was acting under brigade orders of March 22nd, many members of Congress and citizens in carriages, who formed a procession and escorted him to the house of John Jay, at what was then No. 133 Broadway, his arrival at four o'clock in the afternoon being announced by a discharge of cannon at the Battery. At Mr. Jay's house he was welcomed by the committee appointed for that purpose by Congress. On the same day the Senate appointed Caleb Strong of Massachusetts and Ralph Izard of South Carolina to escort Mr. Adams to the Senate Chamber and on the 21st of April they did so, John Langdon, the temporary President of the Senate, meeting him upon the floor and saying "Sir: I have it in charge from the Senate to introduce you to the chair of this House; and also to congratulate you on your appointment to the office of Vice-President of the United States of America." Mr. Langdon then conducted Mr. Adams to the chair and the latter made a short address. On the same morning the Mayor and Common Council called upon Mr. Adams in a body to congratulate him upon his election and his safe arrival. The Federal Constitution having made no definite provision for the taking of oaths of office by Federal officers, with the exception of giving a form of oath to be taken by the President before entering upon the duties of his office, neither the Senators nor the Vice-President took any oath of office until the 3rd of

June 1789. On that day, in pursuance of the first Act passed by the first U. S. Congress, it was ordered by the Senate that Mr. Langdon administer the oath of office to the Vice-President, "which was done accordingly;" the Vice-President then administered the oath to the Senators. Mr. Adams' wife and son arrived in New York on the 25th of June 1789 and the family took up their residence in the Richmond Hill mansion at the corner of Varick and Charlton Streets.

The reception of the Vice-President having thus been disposed of with no great ceremony, that of the President was next arranged. In March was begun the building of a magnificent barge in which Washington was to be rowed from Elizabethtown Point to the City, and on the 28th of that month the mechanics who had furnished the materials for the Federal Ship Hamilton in 1788 wished to know, from the gentlemen who had employed a person to build the barge, why they had been deprived of that honor, as they were persuaded as a body that their former services entitled them to that patronage. The barge, which was between forty and fifty feet long and cost between £200 and £300, was launched on the 21st April and was pronounced to be "a most masterly construction in its line." Upon his removal to Philadelphia Washington returned it to those who presented him with it. In the Massachusetts Centinel of February 4th 1789 it was stated that the citizens of New York were fitting up the Federal Ship Hamilton as a barge for the President; which may have been the case so far as some portions of the material of the barge were concerned.

On the 4th of April one truly democratic citizen published a card in the Daily Gazette as follows: "As the Illustrious President General is soon expected, will it not be more Magnificent to receive that great Character as Citizens and Brothers, than with a vain Ostentation of Military parade?" But the majority of the citizens were of an entirely different mind, and after a consultation between the State and City officers, an elaborate programme was devised for the President's reception. The main features of this programme were: I. The Chancellor, Adjutant-General, and Recorder to

receive him at the Jersey shore; II. A salute to be fired from the Battery upon his embarkation; III. A second salute to be fired upon his passing the Battery; IV. The Governor and State officers, and Mayor and officers of the Corporation to meet him upon landing and to accompany him to his house; V. Volunteers of the Legion of Malcolm's Brigade, and Bauman's Artillery to parade in uniform; VI. Bells to ring for half an hour after his landing; VII. The colors on the Fort and vessels in the harbor to be displayed on the firing of the first salute; VIII. The city to be illuminated from seven to nine o'clock in the evening. On the 22nd of April the Common Council passed a resolution recommending the ringing of the church bells and illumination of the city, and also appropriated £16 for the payment of gunpowder to be used by the militia upon the President's arrival.

Charles Thomson left New York early in the morning of April 7th and by diligent travelling reached Mount Vernon at about noon on the 14th of April. An hour later he delivered to General Washington the certificate of his election to the presidency and a note from Mr. Langdon which read as follows :

"SIR : I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency the information of your unanimous election to the office of President of the United States of America. Suffer me, Sir, to indulge the hope that so auspicious a mark of public confidence will meet your approbation, and be considered as a sure pledge of the affection and support you are to expect from a free and an enlightened people.

I am, Sir, with sentiments of respect,

Your obedient, humble servant,

JOHN LANGDON."

Mr. Thomson also made a short speech of congratulation to which the President briefly replied. General Washington left Mount Vernon on the 16th of April accompanied by his secretary Col. David Humphreys and Mr. Thomson. On that day he wrote in his diary : "About ten o'clock I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity."

ity ; and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York with the best disposition to render service to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations." Although he began his journey each day at sunrise the ovations which he received along his route so delayed him that not until the 23rd of April did he appear at Elizabethtown Point to be conveyed to New York City. On that day he was met on the Jersey shore by the committee of Congress and by Chancellor Livingston, Adjutant-General Fish, and Recorder Varick, who escorted him to New York in the barge manned by thirteen New York pilots dressed in white uniforms, with Capt. Thomas Randall as coxswain. The names of the branch pilots in 1789, from among whom these thirteen were chosen, were Zacariah Rusler, David Morris, William Van Drill, John Callahan, Robert Eaton, Edward Wilkie, John Funk, Nathaniel Funk, Charles Penny, Peter Parks, Isaac Simonson, Charles Swan, Matthew Daniel, and Thomas Gray. Accompanying this barge upon its passage across the river was one containing Gen. Knox, John Jay and the members of the Board of Treasury, and there were other barges and sloops, from one of which arose ravishing strains of music. The editor of the Packet writes : " The voices of the ladies were as much superior to the flutes that played with the stroke of the oars in Cleopatra's silken corded barge, as the very superior and glorious water scene of New York bay exceeds the Cydnus in all its pride. We could with rapture dwell upon this interesting subject, and wander into the fields of fancy for expressions to paint the various and delightful appearances that vied with each other at the same time to welcome the Great and Illustrious Man to our now happy city." The singing here referred to was probably that of an ode composed by Mr. Low for the occasion and set to a tune which the newspapers announced as " God save, etc.," the first verse being :

" Hail thou auspicious day !
Far let America
Thy praise resound :

Joy to our native land !
 Let every heart expand,
 For Washington's at hand,
 With glory crowned !"

There were in all five verses of somewhat similar import. The Spanish sloop-of-war *Galveston*, which lay in the harbor with only her own flag displayed, fired a salute of thirteen guns as the President's barge passed, and at once displayed all the flags known among foreign nations. Mr. Arnold H. Dohrman's ship *North Carolina* and the other vessels in the harbor were decorated, and the schooner *Columbia* just arrived from Charleston, Philip Freneau, captain, sailed up the Bay with her colors flying. As the President passed the Battery he was saluted with thirteen guns. At Murray's Wharf near the foot of Wall Street, where a pair of carpeted stairs had been erected, thirteen more guns were fired as he landed and was received by the Governor and State officers and by the Mayor and Aldermen. A procession was then formed which escorted him from the wharf to his residence in the following order :

Col. Morgan Lewis, accompanied by Majors Morton and Van Horne.

City Troop of Dragoons under Capt. Stakes.

German Grenadiers under Capt. Scriba.

Music.

Infantry under Captains Swartwout and Steddiford.

Grenadiers under Capt. Harsin.

Col. Bauman at the head of the Regiment of Artillery.

Music.

General Malcolm and Aide.

Officers in uniform, not on duty.

Committee of Congress.

The President, and Governor Clinton.

The President's suite.

Officers of the State.

The Mayor and Aldermen.

The French and Spanish Ambassadors
 in their carriages.

An amazing concourse of citizens.

An excellent account of the whole ceremony of receiving the President is to be found in a fragment of a letter written

at the time by Dr. James Loyd Cogswell and published in the *Historical Magazine* for August 1860, which reads as follows: "I think that you may esteem it as a mark of no small consideration that I should sit down between six and seven o'clock amidst the hurry and bustle of the joy that pervades every breast upon the arrival of the puissant General and illustrious President Washington, to write to you and give you some account (and you must expect but a very faint one) of what took place upon his arrival. I informed you last night that he was to embark at Elizabeth Town this day. The time he embarked was announced by the discharge of cannon at Elizabeth Town. The Spanish packet fell down below the Battery. About half after three, the General's barge rowed by thirteen men in uniform passed the packet. As soon as they had passed, the packet fired and displayed her colors. The General's barge had an awning hung round with red morene curtains, festooned. It was attended with the New Haven and Rhode Island packets and a number of boats and barges decorated in the most beautiful manner. From the Battery to the Coffee House, where the General landed, the ships, docks and houses were crowded with people as thick as they could stand. The guns of the Battery were fired as soon as the General passed, and all the people upon the Battery gave three huzzas. The cheers were continued along the Battery unto the place of landing, as the barge passed. I was on board Capt. Woolsey's ship, which lies in the slip by the Coffee House, and had a very fine prospect. The successive motion of the hats from the Battery to the Coffee House, was like the rolling motion of the sea, or a field of grain waving with the wind when the sun is frequently intercepted with a cloud. A pair of elegant stairs, with the sides covered and carpeted, were erected to land the General safe upon the dock. Immediately upon his landing, thirteen guns were fired from the dock, and the whole city rung with repeated huzzas. As soon as he had landed I hastened home, where I had left Mrs. Broome and her flock. The procession immediately formed and proceeded from the Coffee House into Queen Street and then to the President's House. The

Light Infantry, Grenadiers, (I should have mentioned the light-horse first), and train of artillery, led on the procession. The officers in uniform, not on duty, followed. The General walked after them at the right hand of Governor Clinton. Then followed the principal officers of state, members of Congress, clergy and citizens. The General was dressed in blue, with buff-colored under-clothes. The procession moved very slow and with great solemnity. The windows, stoops, and streets were crowded, the latter so closely you might have walked upon people's heads for a great distance. Notwithstanding all the exertion of the guard to keep the crowd off, they were so wedged in by Embree's corner that they could not move for some time. The General was obliged to wipe his eyes several times before he got into Queen Street. After they had tarried some time at the President's house, he returned in a coach and dined with Governor Clinton. It is now half after nine o'clock. Since I began this letter I had a call to visit a sick person in Beaver Street. I walked up Queen and Wall Streets and round by the new buildings back through Hanover Square. Every house is illuminated except those of the Quakers. The appearance is brilliant beyond description. Sir Jno's house makes a grand appearance. The houses in Wall Street look very well, City Hall in particular. The new buildings of McComb and Edgar exceed any. Notwithstanding the rain, the streets were filled with men, women and children. A great variety of taste has been displayed in the arrangement of candles—some are in the form of a pyramid—some in one shape, and some in another. A great number of figures and curious mottos are to be seen. Among the rest one at Mr. Scriba's large brick house, at the corner of the Fly Market, took my attention: in one window was a building supported by beautiful columns, with the names of the respective States upon them, supporting it; on a window on the right was wrote in an oval neatly decorated 'Vivat our Illustrious President George Washington;' on the left "—— here the letter ends. Another account by an eye-witness is to be found in the Diary of Miss Eliza Morton, afterwards Mrs. Josiah Quincy, who was about fifteen years of age

in 1789 and wrote her diary in 1821 with the assistance of her mother who, at the time of writing, was 83 years of age. She writes: "After the Federal Constitution was adopted, I remember seeing General Washington land on the 23rd of April 1789, and make his entrance into New York, when he came to take the office of President of the United States. I was at a window in a store on the wharf where he was received. Carpets were spread to the carriage prepared for him; but he preferred walking through the crowded streets, and was attended by Governor Clinton and many officers and gentlemen. He frequently bowed to the multitude, and took off his hat to the ladies at the windows, who waved their handkerchiefs, threw flowers before him, and shed tears of joy and congratulation. The whole city was one scene of triumphal rejoicing. His name in every form of decoration appeared on the fronts of the houses; and the street through which he passed to the Governor's mansion was ornamented with flags, silk banners of various colours, wreaths of flowers, and branches of evergreens. Never did any one enjoy such a triumph as Washington, who, indeed, 'read his history in a nation's eyes.'" On the following day the editor of the *Daily Advertiser* wrote: "On this great occasion the hand of industry was suspended and the various pleasures of the capital were centred to a single enjoyment. Every mind was filled with one idea and every heart swelled with one emotion. Absorbed and agitated by the sentiment which our adored leader and ruler inspired, the printer apprehends that he cannot with perfect precision describe the various scene of splendour which this event exhibited. The eye could not rove with freedom through the various parts of this scene. One great object engaged it and WASHINGTON arrested and fixed its gaze." Mr. Fenno, of the *United States Gazette*, saw and heard some of the pathetic events of the day, and wrote: "Many persons who were in the crowd on Thursday were heard to say that they should now die contented—nothing being wanted to complete their happiness, previous to this auspicious period, but the sight of the Savior of his Country. * * * Some persons advanced in years, who hardly expected to see the

illustrious President of the United States till they should meet him in Heaven, were in the concourse on Thursday, and could hardly restrain their impatience at being deprived in a measure of their gratification by the eagerness of the multitudes of children and young people who probably might long enjoy the blessing."

Washington's own feelings upon this occasion, as recorded in his diary and quoted by Mr. Irving, were these: "The display of boats which attended and joined us on this occasion, some with vocal and some with instrumental music on board; the decorations of the ships, the roar of cannon, and the loud acclamations of the people which rent the skies, as I passed along the wharves, filled my mind with sensations as painful (considering the reverse of this scene, which may be the case after all my labors to do good) as they are pleasing."

By a curious coincidence the 23rd of April 1789—the day upon which Washington made this triumphal entry into New York City—was observed in Great Britain as a day of thanksgiving for the recovery of his mind by George III. whose obstinate folly had resulted in the independence of the nation over which Washington was to preside. The procession on the 23rd of April dispersed at the President's house, but he there received the congratulations of a number of distinguished gentlemen, after which he was quietly driven to Governor Clinton's house to dine. On the 10th of March 1789 the Governor had written to him inviting him to reside with him after his arrival in New York until he could arrange for a residence of his own, but Washington declined the invitation on the ground that no private family should be so burdened and that it would not be proper for him to impose upon an individual when supported at public expense. He then wrote to Mr. Madison requesting him to obtain lodgings for him or rooms in a tavern in which he might give entertainments worthy of his position. The matter, however, was settled by the request of Congress to Mr. Osgood to fit up for the President's use the house, No. 3 Cherry Street, which had been used by former Presidents of Congress. This house had been built in 1770 by Walter Franklin, an old merchant in

the city, and upon his death had passed into the possession of Mr. Samuel Osgood, who was appointed Post-master General in September 1789. It stood on the north side of Cherry Street several doors east of the present Franklin Square which received its name in March 1817 in honor of Benjamin Franklin, its former appellation having been St. George's Square. The house was square, five windows wide, and three stories high, but was neither very spacious nor conveniently situated. On the 25th of July persons having accounts for goods furnished or repairs made to this house were notified to present them to Andrew G. Fraunces at No. 69 Crown (Liberty) Street near the bathing-house in the North River. The President removed from Cherry Street to the McComb house on Broadway in 1790. The Franklin house was in after years used as a music store and by the Franklin Bank, and was demolished in the summer of 1856, at which time the chair now used by the President of the New York Historical Society was constructed from its materials. The first visit of congratulation which Washington received in this house was that of the members of the Chamber of Commerce who, with John Broome at their head, marched thither on the 25th of April 1789, and congratulated him upon his election and arrival and pledged the support of the Chamber to his administration. He briefly thanked the visitors, after which every member of the Chamber was introduced to him.

On the day of the President's arrival, the question of the title by which he was to be addressed and the time, place, and manner in which, and by whom the oath of office should be administered to him, was entrusted by the Senate to a committee consisting of Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, Ralph Izard of South Carolina, and Tristram Dalton of Massachusetts. On the 25th of April the House appointed a similar committee, consisting of Egbert Benson of New York, Fisher Ames of Massachusetts, and Daniel Carroll of Maryland, to confer with that of the Senate. The question of the President's title was one which vexed Congress for a number of weeks, the Senate wishing to call him "His Highness the President of the United States, and Protector of their Liber-

ties," while the House refused to give him any other title than that used in the Constitution, "The President of the United States." Washington's own desire was to be called "His Mightiness the President of the United States," and he is said to have never forgiven Mr. Muhlenberg, the Speaker of the House, for some facetious remarks concerning that title. The matter was not settled until after the inauguration, the last step taken in it being the appointment of conference committees which never made a final report. The other matters were arranged by a report of the committees on the 25th of April to the effect that the President placed himself in the hands of Congress, and that it appeared to be best that the oath should be administered on Thursday April 30th in the Representatives Chamber by the Chancellor of the State of New York. The President was to be received by both Houses in the Senate Chamber and then escorted by them to the Representatives Chamber, which was more spacious. The committees also recommended that the whole arrangement of the inauguration ceremony be placed in charge of a joint committee, of which they were at once re-appointed as members. On the same day Bishop Provoost was chosen as chaplain by the Senate and signified his acceptance of the office; there were to be two chaplains of Congress, who were to be of different denominations and to officiate during alternate weeks in the Senate and House, but the House did not elect Dr. Linn until the 1st of May, his election then causing considerable bitterness on the part of the followers of Dr. Rodgers who was also a candidate for the office. On the 27th of April, the committee of arrangement reported that it appeared to be better that the oath should be administered in the outer gallery adjoining the Senate Chamber rather than in the Representatives Chamber, and their report was approved. They also recommended that, after the administration of the oath, the President attended by the Vice-President, Senate, and House of Representatives, should proceed to St. Paul's Chapel where divine service should be performed by the chaplains of Congress already appointed. The House changed the words "chaplains of Congress already appointed" to "chap-

lain of Congress," and this plan was agreed to. The official programme was prepared on the 29th of April, its first provision being the appointment of Gen. Samuel B. Webb, Col. Smith, Lieutenant Colonel Fish, Lieutenant Colonel Franks, Major L'Enfant, Major Bleecker, and Mr. John R. Livingston to act as assistants on the occasion, it being their duty to keep the passages to Federal Hall open, and to obtain the service of the constables or militia. All of these gentlemen apparently accepted this appointment, with the exception of Major L'Enfant, who declined it. A chair for the President (which is now in the City Hall) was to be placed in the Senate Chamber, with one for the Vice-President at his right, and one for the Speaker at his left hand, the Senators to sit opposite their presiding officer and the Representatives opposite the Speaker. Seats were also to be provided in the Senate Chamber for Cyrus Griffin, late President of Congress; Gen. Arthur St. Clair, Governor of the Western Territory; John Jay, Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Gen. Henry Knox, Secretary for War; Samuel Osgood, Arthur Lee, and Walter Livingston, Commissioners of the Treasury; The Minister Plenipotentiary of France; the Encargado de Negocios of Spain; the Governor, Lieut. Governor, Chancellor, Chief Justice and Judges of the New York Supreme Court; and the Mayor of the city. One of the Assistants was to wait upon these gentlemen and to inform them that no precedence of seats was intended, and that no salutation was expected from them upon entering or leaving the Senate Chamber. The committees were to escort the President from his residence to the Senate Chamber, to be there received by the Vice-President, the Senators and Representatives rising, and to be conducted to his chair by the Vice-President. Upon his going to the gallery to take the oath he was to pass through the middle door, attended by the Vice-President and followed by the Chancellor of the State of New York, the Senators passing through the door upon the right and the Representatives through that upon the left hand. Other persons who had been admitted to the Senate Chamber were then to enter the gallery, if they so wished, by the right hand door. Pews in St. Paul's Chapel were to be reserved

for the President, Vice-President, Speaker, Committees, Senators and Representatives. After the service the President was to be received at the door of the church by the committees and escorted by them in carriages to his residence.

The aggregation of exciting events in the city during the week in which the inauguration took place exceeded any since the departure of the British in 1783. A bitterly contested State election on Tuesday and a presidential inauguration on Thursday combined to turn it topsy-turvy. Strangers poured in from all directions and more than exhausted the accommodations which the city could offer. And yet, if every man, woman, and child inhabiting Manhattan Island in 1789 assembled to do honor to Washington, their number did not exceed that to be found in the political processions by which a small portion of the population displays its party-spirit in our own time.

A few days before the inauguration, the ministers of the city churches, with the exception of Bishop Provoost, arranged to hold services at the same hour in all the churches on the morning of the day of the inauguration. The bishop aroused sneers in certain quarters by very properly stating that he would wait to see what arrangement the Government would make with regard to public service. The proposal to have a display of fireworks in the evening was looked upon with some alarm because of the danger of fire and accident. Before Washington reached Philadelphia, on his way to New York, he had been requested by some Philadelphians to use his influence against a similar exhibition in that city, but had declined on the ground that the matter was one to be settled by the citizens themselves. The same fear also prevailed in New York, and a request was published in one of the newspapers that citizens would not bring their horses into the crowd watching the fireworks, as, on a former occasion, a life had been lost through the reckless driving of a coach.

At sunrise on the 30th of April 1789 a salute was fired from the Battery and at nine o'clock in the morning services, which lasted for about an hour, were held in all the churches. About twelve o'clock Congress assembled at Federal Hall

and the procession which was to escort Washington thither formed there and proceeded to his house in the following order :

Troop of Horse.
 Assistants.
 Committee of Representatives.
 Committee of Senators.
 Gentlemen to be admitted into Senate Chamber.
 Gentlemen in Coaches.
 Citizens on foot.

At his house the President joined the procession in a carriage drawn by four horses and it returned to Federal Hall by way of Queen and Great Dock (Pearl) Streets to Broad Street and up the latter to Wall Street in the following order :

Col. Morgan Lewis, attended by two officers.

Capt. Stakes with the Troop of Horse.

Artillery.

Major Van Horne.

Grenadiers under Capt. Harsin.

German Grenadiers under Capt. Scriba.

Major Bicker.

Infantry of the Brigade.

Major Chrystie.

Sheriff Boyd on horseback.

Committee of the Senate.

Constables.	{	Assistants.	{	The President. His Suite.	}	Assistants.	}	Constables.
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Committee of Representatives.

Hon. John Jay.

General Knox.

Chancellor Livingston.

Several gentlemen of distinction.

When the head of the procession reached Federal Hall the troops opened their ranks, through which the President entered the building. The details of the proceedings within the Hall are best described in the Senate Journal, as follows : " Mr. Lee, in behalf of the committee appointed to take order for conducting the ceremonial of the formal reception, &c., of the President of the United States, having informed the Sen-

ate that the same was adjusted, the House of Representatives were notified that the Senate were ready to receive them in the Senate Chamber to attend the President of the United States while taking the oath required by the Constitution. Whereupon the House of Representatives, preceded by their Speaker, came into the Senate Chamber and took the seats assigned them; and the joint committee preceded by their chairman, agreeably to order, introduced the President of the United States into the Senate Chamber, where he was received by the Vice-President, who conducted him to the Chair, when the Vice-President informed him that the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States were ready to attend him to take the oath required by the Constitution and that it would be administered by the Chancellor of the state of New York. To which the President replied that he was ready to proceed, and being attended to the gallery in front of the Senate Chamber by the Vice-President and Senators, the Speaker and Representatives, and the other public characters present, the oath was administered. After which the Chancellor proclaimed, '*Long live George Washington, President of the United States.*'" The oath or affirmation required of the President by the Constitution is "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." The taking of the oath by Washington was an act the solemnity of which made the deepest impression both upon him and upon those who witnessed it. One of the latter writes: "It would seem extraordinary that the administration of an oath—a ceremony so very common and familiar—should in so great a degree excite the public curiosity. But the circumstances of his election—the impression of his past circumstances—the concourse of spectators—the devout fervency with which he repeated the oath—and the reverential manner in which he bowed down and kissed the sacred volume—all these conspired to render it one of the most august and interesting spectacles ever exhibited on this globe. It seemed from the number of witnesses to be a solemn appeal to heaven

and earth at once. Upon the subject of this great and good man, I may, perhaps, be an enthusiast; but I confess that I was under an awful and religious persuasion that the gracious Ruler of the universe was looking down, at that moment, with peculiar complacency on an act which to a part of his creatures was very important. Under this impression, when the chancellor pronounced, in a very feeling manner, 'Long live George Washington,' my sensibility was wound up to such a pitch that I could do no more than wave my hat with the rest, without the power of joining in the repeated acclamations which rent the air." The contemporary accounts of the scene when Washington took the oath are few in number and those which have been printed are not very satisfactory. It is said that John Randolph of Roanoke wrote a description of the event to friends in Virginia which was a model in that style of writing, but the letter does not appear to have been printed although it was passed from hand to hand in the neighborhood in which it was received. William Dunlap was also present at the time and in after years inserted a brief description of the ceremony in his *History of New York*, and it is said that his portfolio contained sketches of the scene, containing figures and costumes as he saw them. Another person who was present was Dr. W. W. Buchanan, who was a godson of Washington, having been baptized in his arms at Morristown, N. J., on the 4th of June 1777. In a letter written from Scotland in 1860 and published in the *Historical Magazine* for May in that year, Dr. Buchanan states: "In those days the corner house of Wall and Broad Streets was entered from Broad Street, and was a police office and watch-house. From its stoop I witnessed the oath of office administered by Chancellor Livingston to George Washington. The next house was occupied by a rush-bottom chairmaker. A door or two below that, left hand side, was the Nestor of our profession, the venerable doctor Anthon, and a door or two lower still was Mrs. McLean's." The best account is that given in Mrs. Quincy's diary, although written a number of years after the event: "On the 30th of April, when Washington took the oath of office as President of the United States, the cer

mony took place in the balcony of the Old Federal Hall, as it was afterwards named, which stood in the centre of four streets. I was on the roof of the first house in Broad Street, which belonged to Captain Prince, the father of one of my school companions; and so near to Washington that I could almost hear him speak. The windows and roofs of the houses were crowded; and in the streets the throng was so dense, that it seemed as if one might literally walk on the heads of the people. The balcony of the hall was in full view of this assembled multitude. In the centre of it was placed a table, with a rich covering of red velvet; and upon this on a crimson velvet cushion, lay a large and elegant Bible. This was all the paraphernalia for the august scene. All eyes were fixed upon the balcony; where, at the appointed hour, Washington entered, accompanied by the Chancellor of the State of New York, who was to administer the oath; by John Adams, the Vice-President; Governor Clinton; and many other distinguished men. By the great body of the people he had probably never been seen, except as a military hero. The first in war was now to be first in peace. His entrance upon the balcony was announced by universal shouts of joy and welcome. His appearance was most solemn and dignified. Advancing to the front of the balcony, he laid his hand upon his heart, bowed several times, and then retired to an arm chair near the table. The populace appeared to understand that the scene had overcome him, and were at once hushed in profound silence. After a few moments, Washington arose and came forward. Chancellor Livingston read the oath according to the form prescribed by the Constitution; and Washington repeated it, resting his hand upon the Bible. Mr. Otis, the Secretary of the Senate, then took the Bible to raise it to the lips of Washington, who stooped and kissed the book. At this moment a signal was given, by raising a flag upon the cupola of the Hall, for a general discharge of the artillery of the Battery. All the bells in the city rang out a peal of joy, and the assembled multitude sent forth a universal shout. The President again bowed to the people, and then retired from a scene such as the proudest monarch never

enjoyed. Many entertainments were given, both public and private; and the city was illuminated in the evening." The balcony upon which the ceremony took place, about two o'clock in the afternoon, was decorated with a canopy and curtains of red striped with white. The Bible upon which the oath was taken is now preserved in the keeping of St. John's masonic lodge in this city, and there is a tradition, or more probably a mythical legend, to the effect that, at the last moment, it was found that no Bible had been provided for the ceremony and that this one was hastily obtained from St. John's Lodge. At the time of his inauguration, Washington was in the 57th year of his age, and a slight description of his personal appearance, written at that time, reads: "His person exhibits everything great and noble—he is upwards of six feet high and exceedingly well proportionate; he has a majestic carriage, serene countenance, and dark coloured hair, but

" Now pacing time begins to shed
His silver blossoms o'er his head."

He appeared on the balcony of Federal Hall dressed in a dark-brown suit, with white silk stockings and silver shoe-buckles, while at his side there hung a steel-hilted sword. His hair was powdered and worn in a queue behind. The clothes which he wore were of American manufacture and were probably those of the purchase of which from the factory at Hartford he speaks in a letter written from Mt. Vernon shortly before coming to New York. The fact that they were of American make was considered to be so important that the editor of the *United States Gazette* specially apologized for omitting to mention it in his first account of the inauguration. He states that they were of a homespun fabric so fine in quality as to be universally mistaken for foreign manufactured superfine cloth, and that the Vice-President also appeared in a suit of American cloth. His poetic remarks upon the subject were:

" From this bright Era, see Columbia rise!
Her Empire prop'd by him who arched the Skies!
Freedom and Independence—ARTS and Peace,
Shall crown the Scene till Time and Nature cease."

After taking the oath of office, Washington returned to his seat in the Senate Chamber, and, after a short pause, arose and delivered his inaugural address. Of this, Fisher Ames wrote on the 3rd of May: "He addressed the two houses in the senate chamber; it was a very touching scene, and quite of the solemn kind; his aspect grave, almost to sadness; his modesty actually shaking; his voice deep, a little tremulous, and so low as to call for close attention; add'd to the series of objects presented to the mind, and overwhelming it, it produced emotions of the most affecting kind upon the members. I, Pilgarlic, sat entranced. It seemed to me an allegory in which virtue was personified, and addressing those whom she would make her votaries. Her power over the heart was never greater, and the illustration of her doctrine by her own example was never more perfect." This being finished, the President and Congress proceeded on foot to St. Paul's Chapel, the order of the procession being:

Troop of Horse.

Infantry.

Assistants.

Doorkeeper and Messenger of Representatives.

Clerk.

Constables and Marshals.	{	Representatives.	}	Constables and Marshals.
		Speaker.		
		President, and Vice-President		
		at his left hand.		
		President's Suite.		
		Senators.		
		Secretary.		

Doorkeeper and Messenger of Senate.

Gentlemen admitted into Senate Chamber.

Sheriff.

Citizens.

The Clerk of the House of Representatives was John Beckley, and its Doorkeeper and Messenger were Gifford Dally and Thomas Claxton. The Secretary of the Senate was Samuel Alyne Otis, and its Doorkeeper and Messenger were James Mathers and Cornelius Maxwell. In a letter from R—— R—— to his wife in Philadelphia, dated May 1st

1789 and published in the *Historical Magazine* for June 1859, the writer states that the inaugural ceremony took place about one o'clock, and mentions the following incident with regard to the President: "On his way to the church, through a numerous collection of spectators I caught his eye, and had the honor of a very gracious bow from him: this from so great a man in so high a station, I thought myself highly honored by." After the performance of divine service suitable to the occasion by Bishop Provoost, the President was received at the door of the church by the joint committee of Congress, and attended by them in carriages to his house. The Senate returned to the Senate Chamber and ordered a reply to the inaugural address to be prepared by William Samuel Johnson of Connecticut, William Paterson of New Jersey, and Charles Carroll of Maryland. The House of Representatives had already adjourned for the day. In the evening the city was ablaze with illuminations. The transparencies which were displayed were pronounced to be at least equal to anything of the kind ever before seen in America, the exhibition at the houses of the Spanish and French Ambassadors being of especial elegance. The residence of the former was brilliantly illuminated, and with its flowers, shrubbery, emblems, arches, and moving pictures in the windows, afforded a scene of great beauty. The French Minister's house had a bordering of lamps around the windows and doors, and large designs in front. At the Fort there was displayed a finely lighted transparency upon which the virtues Fortitude, Justice, and Wisdom, were severally referred to Washington, the Senate, and the House of Representatives. There was also a transparency at the Theatre, and near the corner of the Fly Market,—probably at the house of George Scriba. In Broad Street there appeared a fine portrait of "The Father of his Country." Federal Hall was brilliantly illuminated, and the ship *North Carolina* appeared like a pyramid of stars in the harbor. A display of fireworks at the Fort, under the superintendence of Major Bauman, lasted for two hours and included rockets, wheels, tourbillions, fountains, serpents, cascades, and many other pyrotechnic devices.

Having thus been inaugurated, Washington at once turned his attention to the matter of the social etiquette required in his office. Lords and ladies could have been found in a sufficient number to grace a royal court, but their hopes in that direction were to be disappointed. On the 5th of May it was announced that he would receive visits of compliment on Tuesdays and Fridays between the hours of two and three in the afternoon, and that such visits on other days, particularly on Sunday, would not be agreeable to him. It was thought that public business would so occupy his time that he would be unable to return visits or to accept invitations. On the following day it was also stated that the President was determined to pursue the same system of regularity and economy which had always marked the management of his household affairs. The steward was obliged to exhibit weekly, to a person appointed by the President, a statement of monies received and paid out, together with bills and receipts. At the same time the following notice appeared: "Whereas all servants and others employed to procure provisions or necessities for the household of the President of the United States will be furnished with monies for those purposes:—Notice is therefore given that no accounts, for the payment of which the public might be considered responsible, are to be opened with any of them. Samuel Fraunces, Steward of the Household." It was Washington's desire to receive no salary beyond his actual expenses, and, to determine the amount of these, a very strict account of household expenses was kept by him for the first four months of his residence in New York. His total expenses from May 24th to August 24th 1789 amounted to £1741 9s., from which it was estimated that his annual expenditure would be £4925 7s. or about \$12,317. His household consisted of five white servants who received seven dollars a month and liveries costing \$29 each; five black servants, Will, Austin, Giles, Paris, and Christopher, the clothes of each of whom cost \$46 a year; two black maids who each received \$46 a year; a housekeeper at eight dollars and three other women at five dollars a month; a valet at \$162 a year, and the steward, who received \$25 a month. The salaries of his secretary,

assistant, and three aides amounted in all to \$2000 a year. In October 1789 an advertisement appeared in the newspapers to the effect that a genteel waiter who could shave and dress well, and was well recommended for honesty, sobriety and good dispositions, would meet with encouragement by applying at the house of the President of the United States. In December another advertisement also appeared, in large type, stating that a cook and a coachman were wanted by the family of the President of the United States, and there seems to have been some difficulty in obtaining the services of satisfactory officials of that sort, as the advertisement continued to appear for at least a month.

On the morning of May 1st Washington received visits from the Vice-President, Governor, Heads of Departments, Foreign Ministers, and many other distinguished persons, and his first appearance on a public occasion after his inauguration was at the Commencement of Columbia College on the 6th of May. On the following evening the subscribers to the Dancing Assembly gave a ball and entertainment in his honor at which he was present, the company including Mr. Adams, most of the members of both branches of Congress, Baron Steuben, Marquis de Moustier, Gen. St. Clair, the Commissioners of the Treasury, Gov. Clinton, Chancellor Livingston, Chief Justice Morris, John Jay, Gen. Knox, Cyrus Griffin, Mayor Duane, and other distinguished personages to the number of about three hundred, who enjoyed the occasion until about two o'clock in the morning. Thomas Jefferson was responsible for the circulation of a derisive account of this ball in which Mrs. Washington is mentioned as being present, although she did not arrive in New York until May 27th, and in which the antics of Mrs. Knox are ridiculously described, although she too in all probability was not present. Her youngest son, master George Washington Knox, died on the 16th of August following. At this entertainment, which has come to be called the Inauguration Ball although it was an entirely private affair, the President is said to have danced with Mrs. Peter Van Brugh Livingston, Mrs. Alexander Hamilton and Mrs. James Homer Maxwell. A doubtful

tradition, recently revived from a statement to be found in Griswold's *American Court*, relates that on this occasion each lady was presented with an elegant fan made in Paris and adorned with an admirable portrait of Washington. It would have taken at least three months and a half to obtain the fans from Paris, and it is more than doubtful whether all the shops in New York in 1789 contained one hundred and fifty fans of any elegance, there being probably that number of ladies present.

On the 1st of May the House of Representatives ordered an address in reply to Washington's inaugural speech to be prepared by James Madison, George Clymer, Roger Sherman, George Gale, and Egbert Benson, and upon the 8th of that month the Speaker and House presented the address to him in a room adjoining the Representatives Chamber. The address ordered by the Senate on the 30th of April was agreed to on the 7th of May but for some reason was not presented to the President until the 18th of May, when the Vice-President and Senate waited upon him at his house. The Common Council had prepared an address of welcome to him as early as the 27th of April and had then appointed a committee to learn from him at what time it would be convenient for him to receive their congratulations, but were told to wait until Congress had acted. After the Representatives had presented their address, Col. Humphreys, on the 8th of May, informed the Common Council that they could present theirs at any time, and on the 9th of May at 12 o'clock they did so at the President's house. On the 11th of May he made his first visit to the John Street Theatre; and on the 14th a ball was given in his honor by the French Ambassador, at which the Vice-President, Governor, many Senators, Representatives, and other distinguished personages were also present. On the 15th of May he was visited by the Vice-President; Heads of Departments, Foreign Ministers, State Judges, and others, and on the 22nd a ball was given by the Spanish Ambassador, but the President does not appear to have been present at it. On the 23rd of May he paid a visit to Baron Poelnitz' farm to investigate the working of newly invented agricultural implements and various improvements

in farming. Among the novelties was the cultivation of madder, woad, and artificial grasses, while the implements included Winlaw's threshing-machine and several plows for different purposes, some of which Baron Poelnitz held himself. Washington was especially interested in a machine invented by the baron for ascertaining the exact force necessary to be applied to a plow in drawing it through any kind of soil, and he was so pleased with the working of a horse-hoe for weeding vegetables, that he ordered one to be made for use at Mt. Vernon. On the 18th of July he also highly commended models of machines for reaping and threshing and for cutting and deepening canals, which were exhibited to him by Henry Harbough of Baltimore.

For the first month of his residence in New York, the President was without the company of his family, but on the 17th of May, Mrs. Washington left Mt. Vernon with her grandchildren Eleanor Custis and George Washington Parke Custis to join him in New York. She was received with honor along her route, and one remark regarding her personal appearance when in Baltimore was as follows: "We shall only add that like her illustrious husband she was clothed in the manufacture of our own country, in which her native goodness and patriotism appeared to the greatest advantage." She was expected to arrive in New York on the 27th of May, and at five o'clock in the morning of that day the President, accompanied by Robert Morris and others, set out to meet her at Elizabethtown Point in the presidential barge manned by thirteen pilots in white uniforms, who are said to have rowed the fifteen miles in fifty minutes. She embarked in the barge at Elizabethtown Point at about half past twelve and is said to have been landed at Peck Slip in seventy minutes. She was not expected to reach the City until about four o'clock and the militia who were to escort her were therefore unprepared, but she received a salute of thirteen guns when passing the Battery, was loudly cheered by a throng of citizens upon her arrival, and was escorted to her residence by Governor Clinton. In the evening a few rockets were fired in her honor. On the 28th of May the President gave a din-

ner at which the guests were the Vice-President, the Foreign Ministers, the Heads of Departments, the Speaker, and Senators James Gunn and William Few of Georgia and John Langdon and Paine Wingate of New Hampshire. On the evening of May 29th Mrs. Washington gave her first reception which was attended by Lady Stirling, Lady Mary Watts, Lady Kitty Duer, the ladies of the most honorable Mr. Langdon and Mr. Dalton, Madame de la Forest, Mrs. James Thompson and her daughter Mrs. Elbridge Gerry, and many other ladies. Mrs. Elbridge Gerry was the daughter of James Thomson and Catherine Walton, and was not the daughter of Charles Thomson, secretary of Congress, and Hannah Harrison, as has been erroneously stated in biographical dictionaries and historical magazines. Soon after her arrival the hour for the President's levee was changed from two to three o'clock for the convenience of public officials, and Mrs. Washington held a reception every Friday evening from eight to ten o'clock. It was impossible to please every one in the matter of social arrangements, one point of attack being the fact that visiting the President at his reception was spoken of as "waiting upon the President at his levee." The following was also published in the *N. Y. Journal* of July 2nd 1789, "As a number of the most inveterate enemies to the Independence of this country, attend at every Levee of our Illustrious Chief; an Old Soldier asks from what authority they come into the presence of the father of his country, attired in Garments stained with the blood of departed prisoners."

Mrs. Washington's first public appearance, outside of her own house, seems to have been on the 5th of June, when she attended the theatre with her husband. According to her own account her life in New York was very dull. In one of her letters, dated October 22nd 1789 and reproduced in "*Curiosities of American History*," she writes: "I lead a very dull life here and know nothing that passes in the town. I never goe to any publick place,—indeed I think I am more like a state prisoner than anything else, there is certain bounds set for me which I must not depart from—and as I cannot doe as I like I am obstinate and stay at home a great

deal." She, however, had admirers, of whom Samuel Johnson of North Carolina was certainly one. In a letter dated New York, March 4th 1790, he writes: "I have just left the President's where I had the pleasure of dining with almost every member of the Senate. We had some excellent champagne, and, after it, I had the honour of drinking coffee with his Lady, a most amiable woman. If I live much longer I believe that I shall at last be reconciled to the company of old women for her sake, a circumstance which I once thought impossible. I have found them generally so censorious and envious that I could never bear their company. This, among other reasons, made me marry a woman much younger than myself, lest I should hate her when she grew old; but I now really believe that there are some good old women."

A letter dated New York, June 6th 1789, and afterwards printed in a London newspaper, was to the following effect and may have been true, although the New York newspapers apparently make no mention of the circumstance: "His Excellency General Washington our new Congressional President, and perhaps I might add Dictator of America for life, gave a very sumptuous entertainment on Thursday the 4th, on account of the recovery of his Majesty the King of Great Britain; the Envoys of England, France, Holland, and Portugal, and persons of the first distinction were present. This very handsome respect to the British Monarch, will doubtless be received as it deserves." Washington's social activity, however, was cut short in June by sickness caused by a malignant carbuncle, which compelled him to lie on one side for six weeks and troubled him for a much longer time. At one time in June his illness was so severe that a chain was stretched across the street in front of his house to prevent the passage of vehicles, and Dr. Samuel Bard was in constant attendance upon him for several days. By the 4th of July, however, he was able to stand in the doorway to review the militia and on the 28th of July appeared at the levee, but gave only one levee a week for some time. This was evidently considered by some to be sufficient dissipation, for the correspondent of a Boston newspaper wrote on the 1st of August,

"Our beloved President stands unmoved in the vortex of folly and dissipation which the city of New York presents." In July he was presented with an address of congratulation from the officers of Washington College in Maryland, and on the 4th of August received a similar address which had been adopted by the New York Legislature at Albany on the 15th of July. Addresses from all of the religious denominations were also presented to him at the various times when their annual general conventions were held, and brief replies were made to all.

On the 1st of September he received the news of the death of his mother at Fredericksburg, Va., on the 25th of August, in the 83rd year of her age. His father had died on the 12th of April 1743. His mother's death caused a brief cessation of the President's levees and he and his family put on "American mourning" recommended by a resolution of Congress, passed on the 20th of October 1774, as follows: "On the death of any relation or friend, none of us, or any of our families, will go into any further mourning-dress than a black crape or ribbon on the arm or hat, for gentlemen, and a black ribbon or necklace for ladies, and we will discontinue the giving of gloves and scarves at funerals." This resolution had been passed in the interest of economy and for the purpose of curtailing importations from Great Britain; but, if ever followed in New York City, it had ceased to be observed there some years before 1789, it being then the custom for the pallbearers and minister to receive scarves at funerals and to wear them to church on the following Sunday. The ministers' scarves, at least, were ultimately made into shirts. Some of the members of Congress, however, appeared at the President's first levee after his mother's death, wearing mourning similar to that worn by his family.

Congress adjourned on the 29th of September to meet again on the first Monday in January 1790, and at its last sitting, recommended that the President issue a proclamation for a day of thanksgiving, which he did on the 3rd of October fixing upon Thursday, November 26th, as the date for it. This action was criticised as infringing upon the prerogatives of the Governors of the States, but the discussion of the subject in the newspapers did not appear to meet with popular

approval. On the 9th of October, the President had a parting visit from the French Ambassador, who sailed for France about the 12th of October, and on the 15th of October he himself started out upon a tour of the New England States. According to one who witnessed his reception in one of the towns upon his route, Washington travelled in a post chaise drawn by four bay horses driven by postillions dressed in blanket-coats, liveries, jockey caps, buckskins, and boots. Col. Lear rode on one side of the chaise and Major Jackson on the other, while following it was a light baggage-wagon driven by a man in a round corduroy jacket, glazed hat, buckskins, and boots. In the rear there rode on horseback Washington's colored attendant, Billy, leading his white charger. The President rode into the towns in his chaise and took his departure from them on horseback. While in New York he did a great deal of walking, took longer expeditions on horseback, and upon special occasions appeared in a canary-colored coach drawn by four white horses, and attended by his secretaries Col. Tobias Lear and Major William Jackson on horseback. There was apparently no stable connected with his house in Cherry Street as his horses were kept at a livery-stable at an expense of about eighty dollars a month for all of them.

He returned from this eastern trip on the 13th of November and there was apparently no demonstration made upon his arrival in the city, as "Rusticus" wrote in the *Daily Advertiser*:

"From Eastern climes where smiling genius reigns,
And freedom's rays illumine the happy plains,
Behold our CHIEF ! with placid brow serene,

Returned to grace the soft domestic scene :
The worthy patriot ! shun'd a vain parade,
And, unattended, sought the silent shade."

The Vice-President had departed for his home in Braintree, Mass., on the 13th of October and did not return until the first week in December.

On the 24th of November the President visited the theatre and on the 26th attended service at St. Paul's, where there was a very small congregation owing to the bad weather. On the

same day he gladdened the hearts of the imprisoned debtors by making a gift of fifty guineas to the society which furnished them with food that was eatable. On the 30th of November he again visited the theatre, and in December, gave sittings to Mr. Savage for his portrait. On the 1st of January 1790 he expressed the greatest pleasure at the New York manner of celebrating that day.

The New York of 1789 was a small and plain city. Not until 1830 does the United States Census show an excess in the number of its inhabitants over that of Philadelphia. The city buildings of a hundred years ago are now surpassed by those of many a country town. The ravishingly beautiful and highly accomplished women, of whom it is the fashion to speak in a style of gushing sentimentality, were no more beautiful and not half as accomplished as their great-granddaughters. The magnificent entertainments of that day would now be laughed to scorn. A merchant-prince of 1789 if now recalled to life would find himself surrounded by men possessing individually more wealth than could have been gathered from all the city merchants combined a hundred years ago. The learning of distinguished professors of that time is now surpassed by that of many an humble and unknown student. Nor did its inhabitants for many years after 1789 appreciate the magnitude which the city was inevitably to possess. New York in 1789 was not even, like the poet, the mirror "of the gigantic shadows which futurity casts upon the present." Nevertheless, every line in the much neglected history of the city shows advance and increased prosperity. There has always been progress and never retrogression. We, too, are "in the morning of the times" and as we look, perhaps with amusement, upon the supposed greatness of our predecessors, we may not too rashly sing :

"Such is Drowsietown—but nay!
Was, not *is*, my song should say—
 Such *was* sumner long ago
 In this town so sleepy and slow.
 Change has come : thro' wood and dale
 Runs the demon of the rail,
 And the Drowsietown of yore
 Is not drowsy any more!"

